Artists' identities : a study of the living and working conditions of visual artists in Cyprus

Artists' identities: A study of the living and working conditions of visual artists in Cyprus.

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Birkbeck, University of London

September 2015

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Arts Management

Signed Declaration

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own and that it is the result of original research.

Abstract

This study investigates visual artists' experiences of becoming and being artists in the Republic of Cyprus, providing a missing link between the notion of artistic identity and professional practice. It identifies and analyses the contextual factors that influence their living and working conditions, and develops an understanding of their careers.

A grounded theory analysis of visual artists' experiences and interpretations showed that artistic identity is an integrative element of an individual's overall sense of identity. This identity is reinforced by the reproduction of the artist myth, which helps artists position themselves in the artworld. The findings suggest that although their conditions have changed significantly over the last decades, a number of visual artists in Cyprus still reproduce the myth in order to make sense of their individual identity.

The study makes a significant contribution to the understanding of how artistic identity is influenced by artists' transitional experiences abroad. It shows that several of them experience a form of reverse culture shock when they return to Cyprus after being abroad for their studies, exhibitions or residencies. It suggests that the current model for re-acculturation is insufficient to illustrate visual artists' experiences and proposes an adapted theoretical model that more suitably describes them. This model redefines the phases of reverse culture shock and suggests that it is a recurring process instead of an isolated experience.

Furthermore, the study proposes a framework for conceptualising visual artists' career development in Cyprus that can serve as a base for future studies on artistic career trajectories. This framework has generated a composite diagram that illustrates the fluctuant and heterogeneous nature of visual artists' careers and visualises their individual trajectories in relation to an informally organised infrastructure of services and resources that exerts various influences over the artist's identity and career development. The analysis concludes that such an understanding is useful in informing how private and public support systems are structured, what mechanisms, policies and practices are most appropriate and when support is needed most.

Acknowledgements

The experience of working on this doctoral thesis has been transformative. I would like to take the opportunity here to thank the many people who have contributed in making this experience possible and who have given it depth, meaning, and purpose.

In particular, I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr Simone Wesner, whose critical feedback and constructive comments have stimulated me throughout this process. Most importantly, I am grateful for her attention, commitment and guidance in my development as a researcher, an academic, and a person. I also wish to thank Dr Sophie Hope, whose perspective has been invaluable during the writing up process, as well as Margaret Gold for her assistance in the initial stages of the study. The financial contribution of A.G. Leventis Foundation is gratefully acknowledged and appreciated.

Of course, I am indebted to all the artists who participated in this research for their openness in discussing their experiences and perspectives. It was great pleasure learning about their work, which continues to inspire and motivate me every day. I extend my gratitude to all the people working in the visual arts sector in Cyprus for sharing their wealth of knowledge of, and insight into, the local visual arts scene. My work with all the participants has been one of the most enlightening and enjoyable parts of the production of this thesis.

This work would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of my parents, who constantly remind me that I can achieve anything I set my mind to. I wish to thank my brother, who often played the role of the devil's advocate, for helping me test the quality of my arguments and assess developing theories. Finally, I would like to thank Yiannis Philiastides for the numerous midnight discussions that led to meaningful breakthroughs, and provided me with clarity and new direction. I have been incredibly fortunate to have his unwavering support, patience and love.

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E.KA.TE	Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts
Ei.Ka	Visual Artists' Association Cyprus
EU	European Union
ICT	Information and Communications Technologies
IFACCA	International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KSK	*Künstlersozialkasse,* The Special Social Security Scheme for Self Employed Artists in Germany
KSVG	*Künstlersozialversicherungsgesetz,* The Social Insurance Law for Creative Workers in Germany
MP	Member of Parliament
NAVA	National Association for the Visual Arts in Australia
NICs	National Insurance Contributions in the UK
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VAT	Value Added Tax

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction to the Thesis

What does it mean to be a visual artist? To say that someone is an artist is to classify him or her in that particular social category, but it does not offer an understanding of what it means to be (or to become) an artist (Burke et al, 2003: 1). How does one identify with that social group and how are these meanings shared? What influences these perceptions and identities? What contributes to their construction?

This research investigates visual artists' experiences and perceptions of becoming and being artists in the Republic of Cyprus. My key concern is to bring together, in a single framework, the ways that artistic identities are formed and the socio-economic, political and cultural contexts that influence visual arts practices. In doing so, this study examines the self-forming, informing and reforming process of artistic career development from a cultural policy research perspective. The study is primarily based on semi-structured interviews with visual artists and other visual arts professionals (including cultural officers, curators, collectors and gallery directors), who live and work in the Republic of Cyprus. The thesis examines the empirical evidence for these interconnected areas of research while it explores their conceptual relationships and the actual relationships that exist between individuals in the artworld. This first chapter presents the background of the study and introduces its main objectives; the final section provides the outline of the rest of the thesis.

1.2. Art Historical Context

When I embarked on this study in 2011, I was interested in exploring the situation of visual artists in Cyprus. The country's unique historical circumstances and the late formation of an independent art scene made up of primarily Cypriot artists studying in major art centres abroad, generated questions about the experiences of visual artists living and working on the island and about the development of their perceptions and artistic identities. Who is considered a visual artist in Cyprus? When do artists begin to identify themselves as such? What does it mean to consider oneself as belonging to the particular social category? In what ways do their experiences influence their perceptions? How do their perceptions affect their behaviour and their relationship to their milieu? Considering that 'perceptions' and 'identities' are both the outcomes of situations, as well as elements that contribute to the modelling of behaviour in situations, an enquiry into these concepts was deemed pertinent. But before focusing on these key concepts, it is necessary to ask: what is already known about the situation of visual artists in Cyprus?

The initial investigation of secondary sources showed that art historians played an important role in developing an understanding of visual art practices in the specific geographical location. Several studies investigated the artistic output of visual artists, concentrating on a particular period or aspect of history (Christou, 1983; Loizos et al, 2010; Nikita, 1997; Nikita and Michael, 2009; Photiou, 2013; Schiza and Toumazou, 2010; Severis, 2000; Wells et al, 2014). That body of work has attempted to fill some of the gaps in the historiography of art in Cyprus, both chronological and thematic, and is

explored in the following paragraphs to provide an art historical context for this study.

The island of Cyprus, which is located in the Eastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea, was settled by Greeks in the second millennium BC, and was since controlled successively by Mycenaeans, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, Franco-English, Franks, Venetians, Ottomans, and the British (Mallinson, 2005: 9). Changing creative expressions reflected these varying influences, cultural-political conflicts and competing identities (Wells et al, 2014: 2). Although in its majority the population retained the Greek language, religion and traditions (Mallinson, 2005: 9), artistic production followed the stylistic currents of its conquerors (Mouriki et al., 1999). For example, in the Middle Ages when the Byzantines and Latins successively settled on the island, there was a surge in iconographic art that amalgamated the "official" Byzantine painting styles with Western, particularly Gothic, iconographic traditions (Andrews, 2000: 276). Geometric forms were also deeply assimilated in traditional Cypriot activities such as embroidery, wood carvings, and metalwork, and were "based on the visual experiences of their makers" (Hadjikyriakos, 2009: 260). The Ottoman rule of the island between the late-sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries "enriched the visual experiences of the Cypriots concerning Islamic art", while Western influences "continued to be exercised by means of the steady commercial contacts" established with countries such as Britain, France and Holland (ibid). These activities were still limited to traditional forms of expression, many of which were later classified as folk art (Department of Cultural Services, 2010: 377).

In the late nineteenth century, when the island was placed under British administration, some artists started to turn their interest to modern artistic productions. This may be partly due to the "transfer of modernist European ideas" (Danos, 2014: 219), through travelling artists of various European nationalities and their artistic explorations of Cyprus (Severis, 2000: 169-179). There is also evidence to suggest that "the first attempts to exhibit and promote artistic production were initiated and supported by British officials" (Bounia and Stylianou-Lambert, 2011: 185). These exhibitions were tied to a wider political agenda of the British, aimed at fostering a hybrid 'Cypriot identity' for the island, a coexistence of Christian-Greek-Cypriots and Muslim-Turkish-Cypriots that served their interests (Photiou, 2010: 2). Nonetheless, the British colonial rule "offered a gradual development of new customs and activities that affected the Cypriot society" (Photiou, 2013: 56) and provided aspiring visual artists with access to art academies in the major European art centres of London, Paris, Venice and Athens (Nikita, 2011: 5). In contrast to the rest of Europe, where artistic training started to become formalised in the seventeenth century, there was no tradition of art academies on the island.

The "first generation" of Cypriot artists gave impetus to the development of a local visual art scene and a "site-specific" artistic vocabulary that integrated a "wide range of artistic traditions" and "contemporary expressions" (Danos, 2014: 227). Their exposure to the modern visual evolutions, intellectual movements and cultural developments of the West became visible in their work (Schiza and Toumazou, 2010: 21). Meanwhile in Cyprus, the society was still predominantly rural and traditional (Cyprus Press and Information Office, 2012). In the 1950s, unanswered demands for independence from

British colonial rule sparked civil conflicts and paramilitary campaigns (Papadakis et al, 2006: 2). When artists started to return to the island after their studies, amidst this conflict, they remained virtually marginalised, with few opportunities to exhibit their work and limited interest from the public (Schiza and Toumazou, 2010: 21). Chrysanthos Christou (1983), a Greek professor of art history, focused on this particular chronographic period; he employed a historical analysis of Cypriot visual artists' work and documented the development of the local art scene. Although he did not attempt to position them within this wider art historical context or reference the European trends that influenced their expression, his publication set the framework for subsequent art-historical research.

In 1960, the Republic of Cyprus was declared an independent state, with a political partnership between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities. Two distinct communal Chambers were created in order to exercise control in religious, educational and cultural matters (Charalambidou, 2013: 1). In 1964, following intermittent violent outbreaks between the two communities, the Turkish-Cypriots withdrew from the central government. The Ministry of Education of the Republic of Cyprus was subsequently established in 1965, and incorporated a small division responsible for cultural matters, later named the Cultural Services. This political autonomy generated favourable conditions for the development of cultural policy mechanisms and the increase in cultural foundations and exhibition spaces. At the same time, a group of seventeen visual artists established the Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts (E.KA.TE.) in an effort to promote artists' professional interests and in order to further encourage the

qualitative development of the visual arts on the island (Schiza and Toumazou, 2010: 23). A new dynamic group of visual art graduates started to return to Cyprus and began developing their art practice (ibid). Art historians contended that these artists stimulated a stronger critical dialogue of the field that questioned the artistic and social status-quo of the time (Christou, 1983; Nikita, 1997). A number of them also displayed their works in Western capitals and participated in state-supported international art exhibits such as the Biennials of Venice and Sao Paolo, and the Biennale of Young Artists in Paris (Schiza and Toumazou, 2010: 23).

This period was marked by significant shifts in political and social life. The relatively rapid artistic developments that took place after 1960 were interrupted in 1974 when, following an attempted coup by Greek-Cypriot nationalists, the Northern portion of the island was occupied by Turkey. A population exchange agreement ensued and the island was essentially divided into Greek-Cypriots in the South and Turkish-Cypriots in the North. A separate Turkish-Cypriot political entity was established in 1983, maintaining de facto control of the Northern part of the island, but it is recognised only by Turkey (Thorp, 2009: 4). The Republic of Cyprus is internationally recognised as the sole legitimate state on the island, with sovereignty over its entire territory- even though it only retains effective control in the South. It has also been a member of the European Union since 2004 and the Eurozone since 2007. Due to the Cyprus dispute, the Northern part of Cyprus is *de jure* part of the European Union, by virtue of being part of the Republic of Cyprus (Tatham, 2009: 139). However, since it is recognised as being outside the effective control of the government of the Republic of Cyprus, it is exempt

from EU legislation and has not adopted the Euro (ibid). Art historian Antonis Danos noted that "the *de facto* division of Cypriots between the two main 'ethnic' groups in the colonial era, along with the inability to transcend this division in the post-colonial years, inevitably presented each 'community' with its own particular urgencies, aspirations, and discourses" (Danos, 2014: 218). This resulted in two 'parallel' social, political and cultural systems. For this reason, and because there is restricted access to the Northern, Turkish-occupied part of the island, the scope of this thesis is limited to the study of visual artists living and working in the Republic of Cyprus, in the Southern part of the country. This methodological decision is further explored in Chapter Three of this thesis, under 'Biases, Limitations and Challenges' (p.97).

According to Nikita and Michael (2009: 14), following the events of 1974, the Republic of Cyprus utilised the arts to strengthen and bolster national identity which was "promoted through a policy focused on the Greek civilization" (ibid). The same observation was made by Schiza and Toumazou (2010: 109), who edited the catalogue for a series of exhibitions celebrating 50 years of Cyprus' independence. However, neither text discussed the issue in greater depth. Since the historians' intentions were to highlight artists' contribution in the development of Cypriot art, they referred to the conditions of artists and the role of the state only briefly, evading the debate of these cultural policy concerns. It is important to note that these publications were either instigated or funded by the Department of Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture and may therefore carry hidden biases. Nevertheless, the situation of visual artists had inadvertently been affected by these ideological changes. A number of them responded by regressing to more conservative

artistic forms while others abstained from creative production for a prolonged period of time (Christou, 1983; Nikita, 1997). Since there is a dearth of literature discussing this further, the state's proximity to art and its influence on artistic production have become part of this research and are explored in Chapter Four of this thesis.

By the 1990s, the local art scene had been reactivated by an expanded group of visual artists and the efforts of professional art galleries and cultural centres that had started to open (Schiza and Toumazou, 2010: 109). The government's efforts were beginning to align with the European Unions' socio-economic and cultural guidelines (Stylianou-Lambert et al, 2014: 576). Public support for the arts had increased as part of the government's new strategic plan for culture, which focused on increasing access and participation, promoting cultural exchange, and establishing a framework for further cultural development (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2003: 3). These rationales had been familiar in Western Europe since the 1960s-1970s (Heikkinen, 2003: 102). By the turn of the century, it was estimated that around 300 visual artists were living and working in Cyprus (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2003: 22). Only 39 of them were able to live exclusively off their artistic creation; the others maintained their artistic practice while they were employed as art teachers in state Education or self-employed in the private education sector (ibid). Accession to the European Union in 2004 meant a process of harmonisation with European Union directives and other international conventions. The competencies of the European Union in the field of free movement have allowed visual artists to travel freely between countries and stay abroad for extended periods of time (European Institute for Comparative

Cultural Research, 2008: 10). Under the conditions created, higher education and vocational training links with countries in the European Union have strengthened, while artistic co-productions and cultural exchanges developed further (ibid). Danos (2014: 242) noted that "artistic creation [in Cyprus] from 1980 onwards demonstrates a hitherto unknown degree of heterogeneity and pluralism—perhaps no longer constituting another modernity on the periphery but a case of the wider post-modern and contemporary global hybridity". Similarly, Nikita (2011: 20) had earlier suggested that the situation of Cypriot artists now is not unlike the situation of visual artists elsewhere in Europe; however, both historians implied that further research is necessary to assert this position conclusively. In any case, it is important to ask: what does the socio-political history within which visual arts practices have developed say about the current situation of visual artists in Cyprus?

By 2012, when the empirical research for this study was undertaken, the relatively brief social and economic prosperity that was facilitated by Cyprus' accession to the European Union had already started to erode. Affected by the Eurozone financial and banking crisis, the government sought foreign aid to support three of its largest banks. The unemployment rate, which was recorded at 4.6% in 2004, rose to an unprecedented 12.2% in 2012 (Eurostat, 2014). The service sector accounted for around 82% of the country's Growth Domestic Product (GDP), with tourism and construction declining in importance and the financial services accounting for a dangerously large share of GDP (European Commission, 2013a: 25). Average incomes were declining while the uncertainty associated with the deteriorating fiscal position of the island was increasing. As the study will show, these circumstances had already

started to profoundly impact visual arts practices. The unstable financial market exposed weaknesses in the local art market, which was already underdeveloped, and put a number of commercial galleries at risk of closure (AS07; AS09). Public funding of cultural agencies and grants to individuals were reduced by 25% while the budget for purchasing works of art for the state collection was cut a total of 80% between 2012 and 2013 (Ministry of Finance, 2014). Individual and institutional activity, which was heavily dependent on state funding due to the absence of viable funding alternatives from the private sector, experienced its own recession.

However, there were also noteworthy developments in the visual arts during that time. Some private universities that had created departments of applied art in previous years, started to introduce undergraduate degrees in the visual arts. The University of Technology, which is one of three state universities in the Republic of Cyprus, is also developing a programme of studies in the visual arts even though its plans are continuously postponed due to financial obstacles. Meanwhile, some commercial galleries and art institutions initiated new ways to engage the public with their programmes, and organised talks with artists and curators (AS09, 180). Artists' associations encountered difficulties funding their exhibition programmes but they made several advancements in regards to advocacy (I005; I019). In addition, several Cypriot art collectors started setting up private museums to display their collections (AS05); by 2014, there were four new private museums open to the public, displaying classical, modern and contemporary European art as well as works of art by Cypriot artists. Within these conditions, I became interested in

exploring how visual artists articulated their experiences and how they negotiated their living and working situation.

1.3. Origins and Objectives of the Study

Apart from the historical perspectives discussed, so far, no single study exists which addresses the situation of visual artists in Cyprus from a cultural policy research perspective. As the following chapters will illustrate, there are numerous examples from the international literature of studies conducted since the 1970s for other countries (Brighton and Pearson, 1985; Cornwell, 1979; ERICarts, 2006; Jeffri, 1988; McAndrew and McKimm, 2010; Rengers, 2002; Rensujeff, 2003; Thorsby and Thompson, 1994; Walker, 1997; Wassall and Alper, 1985; Wiesand and Fohrbeck, 1975; etc.). Most of these inquiries intended to provide an evidence base for governments, local authorities, arts councils and arts organisations. They investigated aspects of artists' lives and work as mutually exclusive concepts. They sought to determine the reputation, status and motivations of artists, their working hours, income and health, as well as the legal and policy frameworks within which they operate in order to inform policy. Elena Stylianou (2013: 8), who specialises in art theory and contemporary art, contended that these subjects remain under theorised in Cyprus because of the country's socio-political situation. I would add that it is also partly due to the absence of an academic core to support a critical dialogue and guide research in this field, and partly because the art community in Cyprus is still small and critique is approached delicately. Addressing these questions through this academic research study allowed me to enhance the depth and breadth of understanding about the living and working conditions of visual artists in Cyprus, while maintaining a level of

objectivity and reflectivity in the process that is not always possible when the purpose of the study is to evaluate or inform policy. In an attempt to fill in these gaps, this study explores the current circumstances of visual artists in Cyprus by examining individual career trajectories and their complex relationships with their milieu.

The concept of identity emerged as part of the study in a different way. My original interest in visual arts practice as a subject of research developed during my undergraduate studies in fine art at the University of the West of England (2006-2009). Cypriot aspiring artists on the course expressed their concerns and anxieties about returning to Cyprus after their studies and embarking on a career in the field. We were unfamiliar with the local art scene and uncertain about the employment and income prospects of visual artists there. As we were approaching graduation, I decided that I would continue my studies in arts management in London in order to develop a better understanding of the theories and policies underpinning the visual arts and transfer my acquired knowledge back home.

My postgraduate MA dissertation (2009-2010) focused on the status and function of an artists' association that represents the interests of professional visual artists in Cyprus, and explored the concerns of its members regarding the association's activities and sustainability. The findings suggested that the association's entry criteria were restricting the group's expansion and potential bargaining strength. It also showed that artists were not recognised in the state's regulatory policies and that this presented a threat to their professional status and artistic identity. The study indicated that further

research was necessary to explore what visual artists meant by these terms and why they sometimes used them interchangeably. This suggested that an understanding of artists' living and working conditions was necessary to discern the notion of artistic identity and vice versa. I was interested in understanding the notion of artistic identity while exploring how artistic identity influences visual artists' situation, their behaviour and decisions. Jonathan Paquette (2012: 1), whose work focuses on organisational theories, cultural policy and careers in the cultural sector, maintained that the conceptual relationships between cultural policy and identity have rarely been of central concern to researchers from the fields of cultural policy and arts management. Instead, in the academic literature, artistic identity remains in the periphery of debates concerning the living and working situation of artists. The opposite also stands; the living and working conditions of artists are seldom reflected in research on artistic identities. The notion has been deconstructed primarily from a sociological perspective that views artistic identity as emerging from the collective perception of what it means to be an artist (Bain, 2005; Freeman, 1993; McCall, 1978). It has also been approached from an art-historical perspective that considers how artistic identity relates to the development of personal artistic styles that distinguish one artist from another. Personal identity, a person's understanding and expression of their individuality or group affiliations (Fearon, 1999: 14), and its relationship to artistic identity and artistic practice, also requires further exploration. Paquette (2012: 2) suggested that bringing together these two theoretical fields "represents a rich and very potent research agenda".

This study addresses the questions that emerged from the previous research project and expands on the relationships between artists' living and working conditions, the construction of artistic identity and the development of artists' careers. It has three main objectives. First, it aims to contribute to the understanding of how visual artists in Cyprus construct and maintain their artistic identity, and considers the correlation between artistic identity and visual arts practice. Whilst the focus is therefore primarily on visual artists themselves, there can be little doubt that the artworld and the policy frameworks in which they operate play a central role in the process of becoming and being an artist. Accordingly, the study intends to identify and analyse the contextual factors that influence their living and working conditions. In the course of the research, the career development of visual artists was identified as a central theme of the study. Consequently, the study aims to develop an understanding of visual artists' career trajectories and the complex dynamics that affect their development. The following section, which will bring this introduction to a close, provides a synopsis of the main points discussed in this thesis.

1.4. Outline of the Study

This thesis amalgamates the findings of empirical research with the analysis of existing data, to reveal and review the qualitative information that addresses the study's objectives. In Chapter Two I expand on the principal concepts of the study introduced in this chapter and place them within the context of current debates in the literature. The chapter investigates the concepts of identity and artistic identity, and explores the multiple approaches taken to define an artist. It then examines the challenges associated with this task while identifying the connections between philosophical, institutional and practical definitions of the term, and the frameworks that have been developed to describe the profession. Subsequently this chapter introduces key literature on artists' career development and reviews some of the common 'hindrances' identified in such studies. It examines the recurring lines of enquiry being pursued by researchers in other countries and presents a number of theories regarding the nature of artistic practice.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology used for this study. Considering the limitations of existing data on the situation of visual artists in Cyprus, it explains why a grounded theory approach was adopted and articulates the epistemological and theoretical perspectives that influenced the line of questioning pursued. Specific issues encountered during the fieldwork are reviewed and personal biases are acknowledged.

Chapters Four, Five and Six discuss the research findings and examine them within the wider theoretical frame. In particular, Chapter Four provides a historical perspective of the development of cultural policy in the Republic of

Cyprus and an understanding of the current structure of arts policy design and implementation. It examines the manner in which public authorities have carried out their role in supporting artistic creation and visual artists' perspectives on the mode and extent of support available to them. It also investigates the conflicting rationales that underpin public action and evaluates their impact. The chapter further explores the supporting role of the art galleries that exhibit artists' work and the artists' associations that represent their interests.

Chapter Five presents a discussion of the meaning of artistic identity to visual artists. Artists convey their own ontological beliefs about what it means to be an artist, and utilise their own principles or standards with which to negotiate the contours of the visual art profession. The chapter explores how the challenge of constructing and maintaining an artistic identity is met through the reproduction of the artist myth. It also deconstructs the current model of re-acculturation and describes how artistic identity is moulded by the artist's transitional experiences abroad.

Chapter Six draws upon the previous two chapters, tying up the various theoretical and empirical strands in order to create a framework for conceptualising visual artists' career development in Cyprus. A composite diagram illustrates the fluctuant and heterogeneous nature of visual artists' careers and explores the relationship between an informally organised infrastructure and artists' developmental process.

The final chapter brings together the findings and emerging conclusions from the empirical chapters in order to reach overall conclusions that answer the

research objectives. It closes with a discussion of the cultural policy implications emerging from the findings and with suggestions for future research into this area. I anticipate that the work presented in this thesis will provide an understanding of the situation of visual artists in Cyprus and extend the knowledge base regarding artistic identities and artistic careers.

2. Critical Review of the Literature on Visual Artists

2.1. Introduction

As noted in the introductory chapter, research on the identity, position and situation of visual artists has been conducted in various historical, cultural and national contexts. These areas of study are considered to be interconnected (Paquette, 2012: 1) but their conceptual links can be further explored, particularly from a cultural policy and arts management research perspective. This thesis is positioned within these broad theoretical domains and examines visual artists' individual and collective experiences in Cyprus at present. Therefore, in order to contextualise these experiences and develop a clearer framework for the discussion of the empirical data in subsequent chapters, the extant literature reviewed in this chapter will provide a broader understanding these largely distinct fields of research.

Firstly, in an effort to provide an understanding of the collective view of who artists are and what this identity entails, the review examines the notion of identity and current perspectives of artistic identities. These sociological views are valuable and form the basis of subsequent analysis. Consequently, the chapter investigates how visual arts practices have developed, it analyses the historical roots of defining artists and explores current issues of terminology and standardisation. It also identifies the modes of expression that describe the visual arts of the present time and investigates the concept of professionalism in this field. Finally, the chapter concludes with an analysis of the literature on artists' career development and a consideration of the factors that influence artistic production.

2.2. Identity Theory

In order to develop an understanding of artistic identities in general, and particularly, the artistic identities of visual artists living and working in Cyprus, it is necessary to investigate the meaning of identity and theories around multiple identities as they are discussed in the literature. There is an increasing body of research exploring what this notion might mean but since it is essentially an abstract concept and not an empirical one, researchers have used the term in a variety of ways according to their theoretical perspectives. Almost three decades ago Glynis Blackwell (1986) explored some of these variations that are worth repeating here because they capture the differences in meaning still referred to in current debates:

> For Erikson (1968), in the psychoanalytic tradition, identity is a global self-awareness achieved through crisis and sequential identifications in social relations. For McCall and Simmons (1982) from the symbolic interactionist perspective, identities are negotiated performances of the role prescriptions attached to the occupancy of social positions: as such any one person can have many identities depending upon the number of roles adopted. For Biddle (1979), from a role theory standpoint, any label applied consistently to a person may be considered an identity and it does not necessarily have to refer to a social role; so for instance, a nickname may both create and symbolise an identity, according to him. (Breakwell, 1986: 10-11).

Breakwell (1986: 188) suggested that people are self-aware, that is, they possess the ability to recognise themselves as distinct individuals. When Erikson (1968) wrote about sequential identifications, he emphasised the need for consistency in the way individuals view their own identities and in the way they express them to others. Furthermore, he maintained that self-awareness is not only achieved through consistency but also through 'crisis', that is, when the processes of identity are "unable to comply with the principles of

continuity, distinctiveness and self-esteem which habitually guide their operation" (Breakwell, 1986: 46). Breakwell (1986: 192) used the term 'threats' in a similar way and explained that individuals "will seek to reinstitute the principled operation of the identity processes". When they succeed, the threat often loses its power while the individual's sense of identity strengthens; if they do not, the structure of the identity may change (ibid: 194). Therefore, it can be deduced that 'crisis', or 'threats', play an equally important part in the formation and development of identity.

McCall and Simmons (1982), following Foote (1951), linked the concept of identity to the concept of role. In their analysis of role theory, Burke and Stets (2009: 38) explained that "roles prescribe relationships and behaviours" and that "there are expectations associated with the role positions". However, they maintained that "the energy, motivation, and drive that make roles actually work require that individuals identify with, internalise, and become the role" (ibid). The term identity, therefore, is used to describe "the character and the role that an individual devises for himself as an occupant of a particular social position" (McCall and Simmons, 1982: 65). These theories focused on how an individual establishes and maintains his or her own identity. For Stone (1962: 93), "a person's identity is also established when others place him as a social object by assigning him the same words of identity that he appropriates for himself". He suggested that other people's perception of the individual contributes to their self-view (ibid). Burke and Stets (2009: 39) used the terms 'appearance' and 'performance' to describe the identity roles enacted by individuals when they interact with others. Who someone is, and who they are

perceived to be, are negotiated through social interaction where a consensus is reached regarding the roles each individual will assume.

Furthermore, McCall and Simmons (1982:67) pointed out that individuals perform various roles and can consequently claim more than one role identity. If individuals can have many identities, how are they managed, and when do they become activated? Burke and Stets (2009) suggested that "individuals' multiple role identities [are] organised into a hierarchy within the self", which reflects how "individuals like to see themselves given their ideals, desires, or what is central or important to them" (ibid: 40). They offered the example of an individual who believes that being a good parent or professor or friend is important; in that case, they would claim the parent identity, or the professor identity, or the friend identity, depending on the situation (ibid). They summarised by explaining that "the higher the identity in the prominence hierarchy, the more important it is" (ibid). The prominence of identity depends upon: how much individuals get reinforcement for the identity they are claiming, from themselves and others; the degree of commitment or investment in that identity; and the extrinsic and intrinsic rewards individuals receive from the identity (McCall and Simmons, 1978: 74-77). Burke and Stets (2009: 40) noted that "the prominence hierarchy reflects people's priorities, which in turn serve to guide their actions across situations and over time". In addition, they explained that if more than one identity is activated in a situation, it is expected that "the identity with the higher level of prominence, or the identity with the higher level of commitment, will guide behaviour more than an identity with a lower level of prominence or commitment" (ibid).

Understanding the fundamental factors that influence the plans, actions and behaviour of individuals is of great interest to this study.

Breakwell (1986: 11) suggested that although the approaches examined may differ, there is a common conceptual thread; identity is considered to be the socially distinguishing characteristics that a person regards as important and it is a social category that is defined by a group's 'rules', expected behaviours and special features (Fearon, 1999: 11). These "distinct but intertwined meanings" (ibid: 5) reflect an individual's self-concept, "all that one knows, thinks, and feels about oneself and who one is" (Rosenberg, 1979 cited in Burke, 2009: 38). Fearon (1999: 11) named this "self-image", which he explained as a person's definition of the self. The analysis of this concept has raised the following questions: How will the participants in this study define themselves? Where is artistic identity situated in the prominence hierarchy? How does artistic identity relate to the notion of 'performance', as described by Burke and Stets (2009: 39)? What sort of threats to their identity might visual artists encounter? How do they cope with them? What mechanisms might they devise to maintain a sense of continuity and distinctiveness in their lives? How do artists' identities influence their decisions and behaviour?

2.3. The Notion of Artistic Identity

Artistic identity is also a notion that requires some consideration in this chapter as it is one of the main subjects of this thesis. There is a relative paucity of research into the artistic identity of visual artists, especially from artists' perspectives. In recent years, scholars working in an array of social science and humanities disciplines have taken an interest in questions concerning artistic identity, that is, an individual's self-awareness as an artist.

A number of art historians linked artistic identity to an artist's conscious efforts to establish a personal artistic style, or character, in order to distinguish from other artists (Junod, 2011; Sohm, 2001; Vasari, 1987; Woods-Marsden, 2000). Giorgio Vasari's studies are paradigmatic of this perception; in charting the stylistic progress made by painters, he attempted to identify a distinguishing characteristic that would differentiate one artist from another (Vasari, 1987: 83). Art historian Karen Junod (2011: 38) noted that Vasari's historiographic framework had a significant impact on subsequent research in art theory and art history. Joanna Woods-Marsden (2000: 1), who is also an art historian, followed the same stream of thought as Vasari when she considered how artistic identities were constructed during the Renaissance. Philip Sohm (2001: 87) came to regard personal artistic styles as "those which humanise artists by revealing various personal matters such as their training and histories, their influences, the triumphs and failures of their lives, and the innate case of their minds and souls". In this sense, can artistic production be considered a reflection of an artist's personal identity? And if, as Vasari and Woods-Marsden contended, artistic identity can be projected through an artist's body of work, and artistic production can be

regarded as a depiction of individual identity, then could artistic identity be considered an extension of personal identity? So far, there has been little discussion in the literature about how artistic identity relates to one's overall sense of self. The present study attempts to enhance the understanding of this relationship by exploring some of the questions posed earlier.

Mark Freeman (1993: 40), Catherine Soussloff (1997: 3), and Alison Bain (2005: 25) followed a different stream of thought to describe artistic identity. They maintained that artistic identity emerges from a biographical schematic of artists' lives, or an *a priori* narrative. From this perspective, the collective perception (or misconception) of what it means to be an artist becomes part of their artistic identity. Freeman (1993), who is a psychologist, explored the lives of a group of aspiring visual artists from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s and deconstructed the concept of artistic identity as it relates to the artist myth. He contended that "the mythic dimension of the artistic identity served to relegate some significant conflicts to a lesser status than they might otherwise have attained" (Freeman, 1993: 42). The artist myth, discussed later in this chapter (p.35), seems to provide a measure of consolation for one's identity. Similarly, Soussloff (1997: 3), whose research explored the historiography, theory, and philosophy of art in the European tradition, looked at artists' biographies in order to locate the commonalities of their stories. From this process, she created a common narrative for artists, often based on anecdotes, which has shaped people's conceptions and ideas about the lives of artists. In an analysis of her work, Junod (2011: 4) argued that her pre-existing perception of who an artist is, "fails to reflect the diversity of the genre of the artist's life". The acknowledgement of this diversity was still

missing from Alison Bain's analysis of artistic identity. She supported that artistic identity is learned through myths and stereotypes which "provide ready-made stories of the self that become a vital source of information about what it means to be a professional visual artist and how that identity can be appropriately expressed to others" (Bain, 2005: 27). Like Soussloff, Bain's study did not account for the possibility that some artists may be detached enough to ignore the myth or insightful enough to transcend it; a broader perspective was adopted by Freeman (1993: 40) who acknowledged individuals' unique perspectives. Further research is necessary to understand the various perceptions of the concept that exist among artists in Cyprus.

The review of the literature on artistic identities has offered a preliminary view of how artists might perceive themselves and the processes involved in managing and maintaining their identities. However, in order to develop an understanding of the visual arts profession, there is still a need to examine the literature that investigates the roles and qualities of visual artists.

2.4. Defining the Contours of the Visual Arts Profession

In this section, the discussion moves beyond questions of identity and perception to consider questions of definition and modes of visual arts practice. How has the title 'artist' been interpreted within the artworld? Who may be considered a visual artist and in what contexts has the term been used? When is a visual arts practice regarded an 'occupation' and how does it acquire professional status? How can one distinguish between artists and non-artists and between professionals and amateurs? How are notions such as 'profession', 'professionalism' and 'professionalisation' conceptualised in the literature? What difference does 'professionalism' make in the arts? The investigation of these questions is based on literature from various geographical contexts, from the domains of philosophy, aesthetics, sociology and cultural economics, and from academia, practice and policy-making perspectives.

Stephen Davies (1991: ix) considered a wide range of questions about the nature of art and the artist, and argued that "definitional questions are inextricably meshed with ontological, interpretive, and evaluative issues; their implications stretch in many directions and take many twists and turns". With this in mind, I explored the literary usage of the term 'artist', as the individual who creates works of art, in various historical contexts. The traditional and historical roots of the definition of the artist originate in the writings of earlier philosophers. Plato, the classical Greek philosopher, whose thoughts were often driven by logic, was concerned with the fact that painting, like poetry, was a representation or mimesis of "various objects and features of the world, including human beings and their actions, and that it had a powerful effect on

emotions" (Stecker, 2010: 98). Plato's perception of an artist was analogous to his perception of art. His conviction was that artists were imitators, re-arranging the 'truth' of reality and the cosmos. He went a step further by arguing that an artist must be placed "in the class of magicians and mimics" because they could deceive other people with their depictions of the world (Jowett, 2010: 497). They were believed to be a threat to the integrity of the mind and spirit because, in his view, they presented only the outward aspects of things, rather than their inner reality (Collingwood, 1925: 155). Aristotle, who was an equally prominent classical Greek philosopher and Plato's student, also based his notions of the artist on the fundamental assumption that art is a form of mimesis. However, as Stephen Conway (1996: 1) asserted, "Plato attempts to strip artists of the power and prominence they enjoy in his society, while Aristotle tries to develop a method of inquiry to determine the merits of an individual work of art". Both philosophers were concerned with the artist's ability to have significant impact on others; while this promoted contempt in Plato, it created curiosity for Aristotle. Aristotle argued that artists not only imitate objects as they were or are- they may also imitate things as they are said or thought to be, or things as they ought to be (Aristotle, 2012 [350BC]: 53). In this sense, artists are also makers of things, ideas and forms; they use art as a vehicle of language and expression to offer novel interpretations of the world (ibid: 18).

In the fifteenth century, in Western Europe, these 'abilities' were harnessed. Artists were sanctioned by the church, the state or the aristocracy and produced commissioned objects for these powers. Their artworks often served as "testaments to the patron's wealth, status, power, and knowledge" (Kleiner,

2013: 384). As in the Middle Ages, the artist was perceived as a skilled technician or a craftsman who earned money by manual labour (Galenson, 2009: 325). Since art was considered a trade, artists were expected to be trained "as they would be in any other profession" (Kleiner, 2013: 388); aspiring artists started their training at an early age, serving as apprentices to the masters for five or six years (ibid). During this time, they were also supervised by artist's guilds which certified their competence and endorsed their status. Although they were initially largely anonymous and seeking the patronage of individuals in power, they slowly began to enjoy greater emancipation as they rose in rank from apprentices to masters. Ultimately though, most artists were answerable to those who controlled the sites for art.

When the artist had lost most of the traditional support system by the early seventeenth century, a cultural shift occurred, one which transformed artists into learned scholars with unlimited potential to create original works of art, "elevated to the status of intellectual elite" (Apostolos-Cappadona and Ebersole, 1995 cited in Bain, 2005: 28). Artists started to advise their peers that "their conduct should reflect their newly elevated status" and that those who pursue the arts from love and noble-mindedness rather than economic gain are to be commended above all others (Galenson, 2009: 325). The myth of the artist as a 'genius' emerged in order to shed the dominant perception of the artist as a craftsman and express the dignity of their new position. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1987: 174 [§46]) explained that 'genius' is an innate mental predisposition which artists seem to possess and that talent is an intrinsic ability "that gives the rule to art". Therefore, artists were not only skilful technicians as they were previously considered; they were

"intellectual workers" who perceived art to be a calling rather than a trade (Galenson, 2009: 326). Pierre Bourdieu (1993: 76-8) noted that this ideology that originated at that time gives the objects that artists create, even now, the 'aura' of not being tainted with money, and reinforces a charismatic conception of the artist as a kind of 'genius' who creates out of inner compulsion and inspiration.

This notion is linked to aesthetics; aesthetics is an area of philosophy which examines the nature of beauty, art, and taste, and their creation and appreciation. As the term 'aesthetics' infiltrated from philosophy to art, it came to describe objects that are free from 'utility', 'determination' and 'purpose'. To sociological critics such as Bourdieu, the term 'aesthetics' was therefore inherently tainted from its modern inception. Aesthetics became inseparable from the dominant ideology of those economic classes whose distance from necessity enabled "disinterested pleasure" in cultural objects (Bourdieu, 1984: 56-63). The problem with aesthetics, for such critics, was that aesthetic discourse universalises the experience of a historically specific social class that came to value activities such as the contemplation of paintings in art galleries and listening to classical music in the concert hall. According to this critique of aesthetics, artists were also implicated in perpetuating the myth of aesthetic disinterestedness (ibid). David Galenson (2009) noted that "although many artists would be interested in, and motivated by, the prospect of financial gain, the convention that artists should not openly and publicly appear to be concerned with money became a legacy of the Renaissance" (ibid: : 326). Furthermore, 'aestheticism', the turning of life into an aesthetic form, became the favourite legitimating strategy of cultural groups such as

bohemians and avant-garde artists who later strived to assert their difference from the middle classes.

By the close of the eighteenth century, the artist was an individual who was characteristically "dissociated from the mainstream of social life" (Coleman, 1988: 78) and "this notion of separateness came to be regarded as an essential quality of any true artist" (Bain, 2005; Kant, 1987). Jacob Getzels and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1973: 101) explained that "when the milieu of Renaissance culture had become aggressively innovative and originality-seeking, the genius who wanted to be true to his vision had to isolate himself and withdraw from the limelight". Similarly, Bain (2005: 28), who is a cultural geographer, pointed out that "a general acceptance of the artist as an alienated and a tempestuous figure was reinforced by an emphasis on feeling, imagination, genius and a search for abstract 'beauty'". During the romantic era and for a long period after, the artist was stereotyped as a starving man living in a garret- an image that almost "glamorised the precarious position of the artist and communicated a powerful new definition of the avant-garde artist" (ibid: 29). This artist was considered 'a Bohemian rebel', an 'outsider' and 'a social critic' who was willing to "sacrifice status, money and material comfort for the supposed freedom" (ibid: 28). Coupled with the romantic idea of the innate rebellion, which was strongly exhibited in artists of the 'Western world' during the twentieth century, was the notion that an artist must be able to physically withdraw from other individuals and thrive on that solitude. In a relatively recent study on Canadian artists, Bain (2005: 29) observed that many contemporary artists consciously or unconsciously still seek to "preserve their symbolic marginalisation (social, economic or cultural) and their

mythologised alienation" by exaggerating and exploiting their individuality and underplaying their interest in financial rewards (ibid). The Renaissance scholar Paul Kristeller (1990: 250) acknowledged that "[t]he artist was no longer guided by reason or by rules, but by feeling and sentiment, intuition and imagination". Imagination was increasingly revered as "a source of deeper truths, giving access to a poetic reality beneath the surface of everyday events which could be explored only through artistic sensibility" (Coleman, 1988: 78). Taken together, these perceptions and depictions of the artistic personality seemed to provide a model that artists adhered to from then on: the artist was a rebel who revolted against established norms, a person who repeatedly questioned, challenged and defied the limits of public acceptability.

In the early twentieth century these were still powerful defining features. Arthur Danto was a philosopher, art critic and art maker who contributed to the philosophy of art by giving a definition to the notion of the 'artworld' within which artists operate. He wrote that "the artworld provides the theories of art which all members of the artworld tacitly assume in order for there to be objects considered as art" (Danto, 1964: 578). Laying the groundwork for institutional definitions of the artist, he unravelled art theory in terms of predicates which applied uniquely to artworks; if P, Q and R are, at a certain point in history, the only art-relevant predicates in critical use, then by conclusion any artwork is some or all of P, Q or R (ibid: 583). Danto (1964: 583) accepted, and actually 'legitimated', the status and power conferred to artists who now had the authority to determine that "H shall henceforth be artistically relevant for his paintings"- where H was a new predicate which the artist chose to christen art-relevant (ibid). This decision-making, authoritative

artist gave way to new and groundbreaking forms of art and introduced Dadaism, Pop art, Conceptual art, and Minimal art. The notion that an artist was able to declare anything as art was also supported by Timothy Binkley (1977 cited in Yanal, 1998: 5), who was also a philosopher, artist and teacher; he maintained that "to be a piece of art, an item need only be indexed as an artwork by an artist. To make art is to isolate something (an object, an idea) and say of it, 'This is a work of art', thereby cataloguing it under 'Artworks'" (ibid). However, by acknowledging that an artist is someone with the power to index an object as art, does not explain nor define who an artist is and it particularly does not allow an indication of who is not. Binkley embraced a theory which was as circular as George Dickie's definition; Dickie (1984: 80-82) defined the artist as "a person who participates with understanding in the making of a work of art" and used the terms 'art', 'artists' and 'artworld' as a cluster of concepts or a 'family of concepts' which "seem impossible to define except in terms of each other" (Yanal, 1998: 4). To support his own argument and distinguish artists from non-artists, Dickie stressed that there is a difference between how a carpenter who builds props understands the work and the way in which an artist is aware of the artistic process and his or her intentions within this. This places value on the notion of 'the theory of art', the institutional setting and the artist's position therein.

In line with this view, the sociologist Howard Becker (1982: 9) raised the question of whether the artworld could be analysed by understanding the kind of work(ers) involved in it. He did so by exploring the idea of cooperation, which concerned the "bundle of tasks and the position of the artist within the collective activity" (Maanen, 2009: 36). Becker differentiated between the

work of all the cooperating people who are “essential to the final outcome” and the core activity of the artist “without which the work would not be art” and whose main task is to produce artistic ideas (Becker, 1982: 24-25). The question which Becker considered in much of his work (Becker, 1974; 1976; 1982: 19) was “how little of the core activity can a person do and still claim to be an artist?”. He utilised one of the abundance of examples of twentieth century artists to develop his argument: Marcel Duchamp made use of a manufactured urinal to which he only added a signature and painted a moustache on a reproduction of the Mona Lisa; both pieces were conceived by an artist, created using appropriated objects, exhibited in a gallery setting and discussed by an artworld public. Becker’s answer to his own question was simply that what is taken to be “the quintessential artistic act, the act whose performance marks one as an artist, is a matter of consensual definition” (Becker, 1974: 769). It follows that artists do not need to handle the materials from which the art work is made to remain artists. Consequentially, the definition of the artist, who is no longer necessarily the maker of art, becomes more multifaceted and more abstract.

The mid-twentieth century was a period of increasing professionalisation in the arts. Economists Neil Alper and Gregory Wassall (2006) observed a growth in the number of artists entering the field between 1940-2000, a rise which sociologist Pierre-Michel Menger (2006: 769) associated with “changes in the organisational apparatus of the art worlds”, “technological innovations”, “the emergence and expansion of a free market organisation for the arts” and with the increased access to professional training and qualifications. Visual artists reacted to these changing circumstances and market pressures by

establishing professional associations and trade unions that controlled the group's behaviours and practices. Furthermore, recent academic writings exhibit a shift in terminology from 'visual artist' to 'art worker' (even 'creative worker'); coupled with the rise of the creative industries, this leads to the visual artist as such disappearing from current debates (Bilton, 2007; Bille, 2010; Christopherson, 2008; Drake: 2003). There appear to be motives for the adjustment of these labels. Julia Bryan-Wilson (2012: 45), who is a scholar and a critic, considered whether the emergence of the term 'art worker' is an indication of the pervasive blurring of art into labour, or a deliberate strategy by artist groups wishing to emphasise the professionalisation of the artist. She believes that the use of this term is not unproblematic and notes that the issue of defining the artist is still present (ibid). How do visual artists in Cyprus relate to the perceptions and depictions of the artistic personality described here? How can the visual arts field be defined, and what are the characteristics of professionalised visual art practices?

2.5. The Theoretical Context for Defining the Visual Artist

In the international literature on the definition of the visual artist there is evidence of a persistent conundrum: how to distinguish an artist from someone who is not. Several studies extend this inquiry to two additional matters: in what context is a visual artist categorised a 'professional' and what does it mean for a visual arts practice that is "no longer guided by reason or by rules, but by feeling and sentiment, intuition and imagination" (Kristeller, 1990: 250), to become professionalised? These questions posed particular methodological issues for researchers who conducted studies on the living and working conditions of artists and other related enquiries (Cornwell, 1979; ERICarts, 2006; Jeffri, 1988; Karttunen, 1998; Rengers, 2002; Rensujeff, 2003; Thorsby and Thompson, 1994; Throsby and Zednik, 2010; Walker, 1997; Wassall and Alper, 1985; Wiesand and Fohrbeck, 1975), as well as government agencies that needed to identify artists for tax and benefit purposes and other contiguous matters (IFACCA, 2002; McAndrew, 2002). The notion of professionalism and its relationship to visual arts practices is particularly relevant to the present study, as an appreciation of these terms has allowed me to develop a clearer understanding of the situation of visual artists in Cyprus. A plethora of studies, reports and legal instruments examining the definition of the artist use procedural or institutional approaches that place emphasis on the way that visual artists operate within the artworld and their status therein.

For example, UNESCO's *Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist* took this approach by inserting aspects of the artists' working conditions in the definition of the 'artist', who was identified as:

> "[…] any person, with or without an employment relation, who denotes a qualitatively important part of his active life to the arts, asks for and accepts recognition as such within the society in which he lives, whether or not he holds membership in a professional association." (UNESCO, 1980:4)

A number of concepts derive from deconstructing the above statement. From the beginning, the definition avoids attaching the term to paid work; the phrase 'qualitatively important part of active life' evades quantitative measurements of one's work but serves to exclude persons who carry out artistic activities as an exceptional pursuit only. The second element of the definition relates to a declaration of intent to operate as artists within existing institutional frameworks, while the third element brings in the professional organisations and associations but implies that an individual's membership to one is irrelevant. This definition, although broad and open, demonstrates a practical method for addressing the question. However, it does not respond to the conundrum aforementioned. On the one hand, it is argued that such a broad declaration is necessary for the safeguarding of artistic freedom, by enabling practitioners on the borderline between arts and crafts to opt freely for one or the other status (ILO/UNESCO, 1977: 2). On the other, the openness of this concept causes it to remain highly elusive.

Therefore, other studies with this scope sought to narrow the parameters of the their sample to 'professional artists' thereby distinguishing them from 'amateurs', 'hobbyists' or 'craftpersons' (Heikkinen, 2005; Jeffri, 1988; Karttunen, 1998; Rengers, 2002; Throsby and Zednik, 2010). In comparison to professional artists, these individuals do not hold aspirations to "join the professional ranks" or have the time, experience and training to commit to

their artistic practice (Stebbins, 1977: 599). Conversely, according to sociologists Willem Schinkel and Mirko Noordegraaf (2011: 68), professionalism is associated with "good work" and occupational behaviours and practices of workers who "possess a clear sense of what their work is about and when it is effective". Hans Abbing (2002: 147), an artist, economist and sociologist who studied the "exceptional economy of the arts", offered a way to delineate the features of the visual arts profession to emphasise this distinction; he wrote:

> "The professionalism of artists depends primarily on how well they relate to the work of peers and predecessors. When they strive for peer recognition this is seen as a positive characteristic of being a professional. An artist's education can also help influence one's professional status, but it is not a *sine qua non*. Economic qualifications are not totally irrelevant, but their importance is relatively insignificant." (ibid)

It is suggested that artists' skills and relationship to their practice are more important than the specifics of their education or income. He added that "earning one's livelihood from one's art (or having that intention) adds very little to a particular artist's professional status" (ibid). Schinkel and Noordegraaf (2011: 69) made a similar assertion but highlighted that a professional "has to be educated and trained, (socialised) as member of an occupational domain, supervised by his/her peers and held accountable". Here, there is greater emphasis on the role of professional associations that control the group's behaviours and practices. This is also in line with Paquette's (2012: 11) view on professionalism, which is defined as the expression of artists' professional identity through these professional behaviours. Accordingly, 'professionalisation' is conceptualised as the

"process of struggle over the attainment of professionalism" (Schinkel and Noordegraaf, 2011: 89).

Other researchers defined the professional artist using a similar set of criteria, while referring to a variety of established frameworks and contexts. Bruno Frey and Werner Pommerehne (1989: 146-147) designed the most utilised and referenced framework for identifying the population of professional artists, using an economist approach. In *Muses and Markets: Explorations in the Economics of the Arts*, they reviewed eight criteria or sources that might be used, stating that the methods utilised depend on the specific research question and on the availability of data. The criteria that were designed are the following:

1. the amount of time spent on artistic work;
2. the amount of income derived from artistic work;
3. the reputation as an artist among the general public;
4. the recognition among other artists;
5. the quality of artistic work;
6. membership of a professional artists' group or association;
7. professional qualifications (graduation from art schools);
8. the subjective self-evaluation of being an artist.

Being economists, Frey and Pommerehne (1989: 147) certainly favoured the income criterion, but it seemed to negate the consensus that artists are generally not sufficiently remunerated from their practice. A number of individuals who seriously consider themselves to be artists, or whom professional qualifications or reputation would customarily constitute them as such, would not pass the market test; additionally, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, a number of researchers suggested that artists' occupational ideology, paradoxically, portrays the 'true' artist as being guided by artistic sensibility

rather than economic motives (Bain, 2005: 28; Coleman, 1988; Kristeller, 1990).

Frey and Pommerehne (1989: 147) noted that as a criterion, the requirement of professional qualifications would unnecessarily exclude self-taught artists. For some fields, where there is no formal training available, the criterion would be inapplicable. For example, in classical music and ballet, training is a prerequisite for sustaining a career, though formal qualifications may not be required. Among painters, by comparison, autodidacts are quite common, although they are becoming rarer with the expansion of art schools and training programmes (ibid). In most art forms, training appears advantageous, but not indispensable. It is neither absolutely necessary nor sufficient in itself for a 'successful' career.

As other scholars have mentioned, membership to a professional group or association may function as a tool for identifying professional artists. However, as Ruth Towse (1996: 5-7) remarked in her discussion of Frey and Pommerehne's criteria, it is essential to pay attention to how members come to be admitted to artists' associations. Further definitional problems are raised when considering which associations are 'valid' and who confers status to them. Some associations are open to all, so membership as criteria is in fact futile (ibid). Other associations use specific barriers of entry and design their own criteria by which members can be admitted.

When measured by peer recognition, quality might well be understood as the professional standard, and operated by peer-reviewed art school admittance, association membership, or acceptance to exhibitions or publications. Other

criteria proposed by Frey and Pommerehne (1989: 147) are recognition from other artists and reputation among the public. The existence of a reputation economy in the arts has been supported by several researchers (Abbing, 2002; Becker, 1982; Bilton, 2014; Masum and Tovey, 2012). The concept describes a social system, in this case- the artworld, where reputation is considered to be a form of capital that individuals leverage when pursuing economic outcomes and other non-monetary rewards. An issue arising from the use of reputational criteria, as well as the quality criterion, is that they easily produce bias towards highly visible or esteemed artists. This incorporates a value system which contradicts Dickie's institutional theory of art; he purposefully avoided 'value' as a necessary precondition for art, to leave open the possibility of works of art, or artists that for whatever reason, are not appreciated. Since the notion of reputation is socially constructed, it is constantly re-evaluated. Mason Griff (1970: 145-146) suggested that the Impressionists would have been excluded from the artist population had the contemporary art world been the judge- they would not have even been acknowledged as artists by their peers. Hence, the reputational method may not be the best choice for locating the mass of practicing artists. Its tendency to produce bias may nonetheless serve specific research purposes. For example, in their study of the 'social morphology' of French visual artists, Moulin et al. (1985: 23) compiled names from six different sources and divided the resulting population into five strata according to the frequency of mentions. This number was then interpreted as an index of the artist's 'visibility', and used as a variable in the analysis.

Self-assessment, the last criterion mentioned by Frey and Pommerehne, seems at first a not entirely feasible starting point for study since difficulties could arise in locating the population. Self-definition was nevertheless the feature most emphasised by the UNESCO's *Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist* (UNESCO, 1980: 5). Frey and Pommerehne (1989: 147) established that the criterion of self-definition, or self-proclamation, had been adopted widely in studies. Karttunen (1998: 7) stated that this method is utilised when artists are sampled from telephone directories or similar sources, in circumstances where individuals themselves announce their profession. Many cultural economists expressly support the standard of self-assessment to avoid elitism and any 'official' designation of the arts and artists (Towse, 1996: 5; Throsby and Zednik, 2010). In addition, self-proclamation would help to spot emerging artists who do not always show much evidence of their aspirations, who may not be able to earn any income from art just yet, or exhibit much work for the public. It is suggested that depending on the objectives of a particular study, it may be pertinent to utilise this criterion (Karttunen, 1998: 7).

Nevertheless, especially within the context of empirical studies on the living and working conditions of professional artists, self-definition alone may be inadequate. According to Becker (1984: 37), the appropriateness of self-definition could be questioned. He noted that not all people care whether what they do is art or not: the same activity can be carried out without using the labels of 'art' and 'artist' (ibid). Many studies though, owing to the context, choose to focus on people who function within the bounds of the established art worlds, and who also describe themselves as professional artists (Becker,

1984; Brighton and Pearson, 1985; Frey and Pommerehne, 1989; Jeffri and Throsby, 1994). Such people do join artists' associations and seek funding from arts councils and hence, they are of interest to researchers. Becker (1982: 229) called this type of artists 'integrated professionals', while Victoria Alexander (2007: 194), who is also a sociologist, categorised them as ‘artists with infrastructure’. These artists “know, understand and habitually use the conventions on which their world runs” (Becker, 1982: 229). In Andrew Brighton and Nicholas Pearson’s (1985) study of professional visual artists for instance, they took the artworld as described by Becker as the starting point for their definition. Accordingly, they regarded shared conventions and conceptions of art to be a distinctive feature of an artist.

Frey and Pommerehne (1989: 146-147) came to the conclusion that no universally correct definition of the artist exists. None of the eight criteria or any combination of them would qualify everywhere. The authors suggested that the criteria should be selected contextually: based on the purpose of the study and the availability of data (ibid). They also emphasised that the choice of the criteria for the artist has major consequences for the research findings, ranging from the number of artists arrived at, to the assessment of their economic conditions.

A similar combination of criteria was proposed by Joan Jeffri and David Throsby (1994: 100), who focused on identifying professional artists. They suggested that the self-evaluation condition may suffice for being an artist, but some “externally-imposed standard of judgement” is necessary for categorising one as a *professional* (ibid). The first criterion is a marketplace

standard, which defines professional artists as those who either make a living from their art or receive part of their income from their art practice – recognising that most artists rely, at least partly, on non-arts income. This marketplace test, much like Frey and Pommerehne's economic criterion, may fail to differentiate the artist. The second criterion distinguishes artists in terms of their training or their affiliation with artists' associations. The third standard identifies professionals as those who are recognised as such by their peers, those who identify themselves as artists, or those who receive public recognition for their work (ibid); this appears to be a cluster of Frey and Pommerehne's criteria. Jeffri and Throsby examined how these benchmarks would work in empirical data on visual artists from Australia and the United States. Their results concluded that the majority of self-evaluated artists in both countries were regarded as such by education, professional training and peer recognition while only a minority would satisfy the conventional market-based definition of professionalism (ibid: 101-105). Hence, these 'professional standards' appear more useful as a conceptual method for identifying professional artists, rather than as an operational tool.

Nonetheless, in the Netherlands, an independent advisory committee for the state uses a similar set of criteria to decide whether an artist is professional and therefore eligible for certain benefits (Towse, 2010: 365). This practice raises the following issue: how can they ensure fairness and objectivity not only with regard to the identification of artists, but also in the selection of members for such a committee? A comparable issue is raised under the Status of the Artist legislation in Canada, where an artist must meet the requirements for membership of a 'national certified association' in order to receive

professional status (Department of Justice Canada, 2001: 17). Again, there is the problem of potential bias in deciding which organisations are officially recognised and on what criteria. The approach taken by Arts Council Australia to determine whether someone is a professional artist is based on the purpose of their work. The main point is to establish whether or not arts work is undertaken as a hobby or as gainful employment ('professionally'). According to Throsby and Hollister (2003: 13), to be considered professional, the arts work should be performed for the purpose of making a profit, whether it actually does or not. For artists who might devote their entire working lives to their art, yet consistently run at or close to a loss, profit motives become difficult to determine or prove- or they might not be a motivating factor.

The criteria reviewed thus far are adapted and utilised by national authorities for various support mechanisms and policies as well as researchers conducting studies on the living and working conditions of professional artists in specific geographical locations. The optimal choice of criteria depends on the context- the art form, the country in question and the organisation of art forms there, the availability of data as well as time and money- and of course the purpose of the study. Karttunen (1998: 17) suggested that a good definition is context-specific, explicit, transparent and grounded.

Considering the overarching intention of the present study, that is, to examine visual artists' experiences and perspectives, I have opted for a different approach to identifying the sample that takes into account the modes of visual art practices in Cyprus. Following the framework of Cypriot art historians (Christou, 1983; Danos, 2014; Nikita, 2011; Schiza and Toumazou, 2010;

Severis, 2000), who acknowledged the diversity of professionalised artistic production on the island, interviews were conducted with artists who had been sustaining a visual art practice and who had displayed a level of activity in the visual arts scene. As the following chapter explicates in greater depth (p.79), visual artists who were interviewed had identified themselves as professionals, they had received professional training from an educational institution and had exhibited and sold their work in solo or group shows. These parameters had previously been used by Kevin McCarthy and Elizabeth Ondaatje (2005: 44), whose definition seems to be a variation of the institutional theory of art; they identified professional visual artists as individuals who manage to enter the "world of arts discourse" through their training, exhibitions and acknowledgements rather than determine the population of artists from their employment status or earnings (ibid). The implications of these definitional choices on the present study's sample are explored in the subsequent chapter.

As this part of the review has shown, defining the visual artist, and particularly the professional visual artist, has proven contentious in European and global debates. Distinctions are often blurry and it is debatable where the lines should be drawn. Nonetheless, the consequences of these definitional difficulties are recognised by researchers as well as policymakers and cultural managers. As the following section indicates, the issue of defining artists becomes a central theme in studies examining their careers and their living and working conditions.

2.6. Developing Artistic Careers

In the last decade, studies on the career development of visual artists, have emerged more prominently in the literature (Creative New Zealand, 2003; Hellmanzik, 2009; Lehman and Wickham, 2014; Martin, 2007; Throsby and Zednik, 2010). These studies seem to have two main areas of focus: the way that artists progress through the stages of their careers and the factors that influence artistic development.

Several studies described artistic career development in terms of stages (Creative New Zealand, 2003; Hellmanzik, 2009; Jeffri et al, 1991; Lehman and Wickham, 2014; Martin, 2007; Throsby and Zednik, 2010). Jeffri et al (1991: 15) developed lines of inquiry according to a seven-stage 'validation sequence' they created from their analysis of artists' early childhoods through mature careers; these stages were: initial influences, training and preparation, professional institutions, peer influences, marketplace judgments, critical evaluation, and late careers. Other studies identified artists as emerging, established or established but not working to full capacity, and described how they progress from one stage to the next (Creative New Zealand, 2003: 7; Throsby and Zednik, 2010: 30). The most recent study on artistic careers, which was conducted from an arts marketing perspective, grouped artists into four categories: unknown, emerging, established, and famous (Lehman and Wickham, 2014: 3). This study offered a framework for conceptualising the marketing orientation and activities of visual artists at each stage (ibid: 9). Although these stages appear to be different, their descriptions bare considerable similarities. Kim Lehman and Mark Wickham (2014: 3) elucidated that artists in the 'unknown' stage essentially have no reputation in

the art market yet. 'Emerging' artists undertake specialised training in their field and strive for professional acceptance (Throsby and Zednik, 2010: 30). The 'established' stage connotes that artists have achieved a degree of commitment and a level of achievement in their discipline. According to Lehman and Wickham (2014: 3), during the 'famous' stage, "visual artists' reputations are inseparable from their output" because it rests largely on the legitimacy and status of its creator. These stages seem to lend a particularly helpful structure for the discussion of artists' career development.

Throsby and Zednik (2010: 8) studied Australian artists' advancement from emerging to established and noted some transitional characteristics. Their survey asked artists to identify the single moment at which they became established; many artists identified their first big professional engagement for a solo exhibition as a milestone, while others maintained that the moment of recognition by their peers in the field or by the public was important (ibid). Similarly, Bénédicte Martin (2007), who is also a cultural economist, described young artists' entry into the contemporary art market in France through a series of artistic tests which serve to qualify artists and their work. She determined two levels of integration: the first milestone is reached when an artist receives a prestigious government grant and the second is achieved when the artist is able to procure a solo exhibition in a Parisian gallery (ibid: 26). Her findings showed that passing these 'tests', allowed artists to reach higher levels of legitimisation and raise their profile within the art market. Jeffri et al (1991: 17) received comparable responses from visual artists in the United States. The steps marking their development from an unknown artist to an emerging artist were: showing their work in an exhibition, finishing

formal training or selling their first piece of work. The leap from emerging to established was not distinguished by a specific event or action, but rather by increased acceptance and recognition. These observations suggest an institutional perspective of professional advancement that is marked by positive interactions with individuals and institutions from the artworld, such as cultural institutions, gallery owners, collectors, critics and the public. These 'legitimating bodies' as Martin (2007: 19) described them, contribute to the assessment of the artist and the artist's body of work, and play a central role in the advancement of their career.

Based on this premise, a number of studies have aimed to determine the factors that advance or inhibit the progress of their professional development (Bridgstock, 2005; Brooks and Daniluk, 1998; Creative New Zealand, 2003; Hellmanzik, 2009; Jeffri et al, 1991; Lehman and Wickham, 2014; Martin, 2007; Rengers, 2002; Throsby and Zednik, 2010). Throsby and Zednik's (2010: 8) findings indicated 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' factors that influence artists' careers. Their respondents identified the "personal qualities of persistence and passion in approximately equal measure as the most important 'intrinsic' factors advancing their careers, whilst support from family and friends was the most important 'extrinsic' factor'" (ibid). Jeffri et al's (1991: 16) study was perhaps the first that attempted to elicit information about the kinds of validations as well as the kinds of resistances artists meet throughout their careers. They identified primarily extrinsic factors that seem to provide a form of validation for artists and encourage their creative development, such as their early educational experiences, the approval of their peers, the grants and awards they receive, and the sale of their work (ibid).

The relevance of government grants was not only discussed by Jeffri et al (1991) but it was also demonstrated by Martin (2007) and Rengers (2002). In addition, Rengers (2002: 100) argued that the professional experience of artists appears to be positively related to their career development. He explained that "experience correlates positively with success in the exhibition market [...] more prestigious exhibition locations show a stronger correlation with experience than relatively 'easy' and accessible locations" (ibid). This view was supported by Lehman and Wickham (2014: 11) who highlighted the propensity of emerging and established artists to systematically participate in art exhibitions and contests. They suggested that it is important for artists to expand their scope of work, establish relationships with multiple art galleries, and build their reputation in the art community more broadly in order to advance to the next career stage (ibid: 15).

The same studies acknowledged the possible factors inhibiting the progress of artists' professional careers. Geraldine Brooks and Judith Daniluk (1998: 255), who approached their research from a career counselling perspective, argued that artists experience the difficulties "of giving voice to their artistic creativity while balancing their work with other important life roles". This is considered to be an internal challenge of visual artists in the development of their careers.

Throsby and Zednik (2010: 8) discussed how "lack of time to do creative work due to other responsibilities, lack of work opportunities and lack of financial return from creative practice", are hindrances to artistic development. Other difficulties and conundrums that visual artists face as professionals begin with

two contentious concepts, namely 'work' and 'worker', which enable social rights, taxation and collective representation.

Aspects of the artist's employment and conditions of work were examined in the *Recommendation Concerning the Status of the Artist*, which was adopted by UNESCO in 1980. UNESCO took a major step beyond past deliberations that caused an expansion in the volume of research conducted into the lives of artists. Background research for this study has ascertained that the theoretical and empirical work on artistic labour characteristics is remarkably homogenous; most studies that have been reviewed, pursued specific lines of enquiry, stemming from the recommended areas of focus by UNESCO. Most researchers active in this field conduct comprehensive labour force surveys (ERICarts, 2001; McAndrew and McKimm, 2010; Throsby and Hollister, 2003; Throsby and Zednik, 2010; Walker, 1997; Wassall and Alper, 1996) and national census studies (Cunningham et al, 2010; Filer, 1988) which establish context-specific and pragmatic definitions for the population they investigate. Other recurring themes include collective representation, social security, welfare and unemployment, qualifications, and access to training and professional development.

Defining the employment status of a worker has consequences for numerous aspects of their work and their careers. Employment status may affect how much an artist is taxed and how social security is paid (e.g. by employer or worker), whether and to what extent a worker is entitled to benefits (including social security and unemployment benefits), and what form or degree of labour legislation protects them (Laible, 2013: 8). Typically, European Union

member states distinguish between workers who are employees and workers who are self-employed, with each country establishing its own criteria for these categories. In most of them, a self-employed person is "someone who has no employment contract, but who carries out an economic activity on a regular basis which guarantees an income", while an employee undertakes salaried work (Staines, 2004: 10). The procedures for establishing oneself as self-employed vary in complexity, and in some cases require registration with relevant public authorities for tax and social security purposes, forming a company, registering for VAT, or other formalities (Laible, 2009: 3). As the following paragraphs discuss, the social security and taxation systems can significantly influence artists and the way they maintain their visual arts practice.

Social security schemes generally include medical care, incapacity to work due to illness or injury and unemployment. A review of the social security protection of artists was first undertaken by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1977 where marked differences were found between national legislations. The ILO is a United Nations specialised agency which promotes modes of social fairness and internationally recognised human and labour rights. The review raised a number of issues concerning self-employed artists and those who work on an occasional or part-time basis (Cornwell, 1979: 55). ERICarts (2001) published a report in 2001 that explored the situation of visual artists in a number of EU countries, particularly with regards to the state support schemes available to them, the market support for their work, and the legal and social frameworks that govern their practices. In 2006 they produced an updated report on the status of artists in Europe that

was funded by the Council of Europe; it identified how social security programmes which are structured according to classic employment models are often not applicable to artists' working patterns (ERICarts, 2006: 1). In order to qualify for certain benefits such as unemployment insurance or pension funds, specific pre-defined criteria on, for example, the length of recognised periods of work, must be met- which artists rarely do according to their findings (ibid). Also, as reported in the same research study, the precarious and self-organised labour that is affiliated with artistic occupations is seldom taken into account since the system is designed for monthly social security contributions (ibid). Certain types of income, such as long-term artists' grants in Finland, are excluded from pension calculations and time spent on research or training are unrecognised in the calculation of social security benefits such as unemployment insurance and pensions. In addition, it was argued that the payment of unemployment benefits presupposes that the artist is looking for work which is available on the labour market– a criterion which is "antinomical with the nature of artistic work" since the art market does not follow the 'supply and demand' mentality (ERICarts, 2006: 21). However, certain countries, such as Germany and Finland, have adopted special measures aimed at providing artists with some form of social security. The former established a special social security system for artists in 1983, where contributions are shared between the individual artist (50%), enterprises regularly using artists' work and services– such as gallerists, auctioneers publishers, theatres, broadcasters and others (30%) and the state (20%) (Mc Andrew, 2002: 35). In Finland, in addition to the basic insurance offered by the state's social security system, artists, like other employed or self-employed individuals, can have private personal insurances. Artists in

particular can also apply to the state for an artist-pension, which is awarded annually as a supplement (Mitchell and Heiskanen, 2011: 24). As the negative consequences of the recent global financial crisis on local and regional public budgets are becoming more visible, there is ongoing pressure in several countries to increase their economic equity-ratio and decrease public support for the arts. It is uncertain whether special social security schemes will stand the test of time. These concerns extend to other regulatory areas and seem to affect special taxation policies for the arts.

Taxation is the imposition of financial charge on individuals by a state. On a European level, the European Union plays a subsidiary role with regard to taxes and social security contributions and has no power to create or levy taxes; government departments in individual member states have that responsibility (McAndrew, 2002: 4). The difficulties which artists encounter in this area derive mostly from their ambiguous employment status, which causes complications with income tax and payment calculations (ibid). Further issues arise when artists' income is irregular, which is the case with most visual artists according to ERICarts' data ((ERICarts, 2006: 21). In these cases, instead of providing income averaging, a continued tax is placed. An income averaging system is implemented in some countries to provide the possibility for artists to spread their income from certain works over a specified period of time. Such regulations are favourable to visual artists who work over longer periods of time towards an exhibition and are paid lump sums once their work has been sold (ibid). Canvassing the literature, there seems to be a range of heterogeneous systems of taxation for artists between member states as well as disparate treatment of artists and art disciplines

within each state. In the majority of countries, tax arrangements for self-employed artists differ from salaried employees; according to ERICarts, the tax conditions for the former do not seem to reflect the working characteristics of artists. Self-employed artists, whose incomes are often irregular, are 'penalised' in a system of taxation based on stable incomes (ERICarts, 2006: 55). Certain states, such as Germany, Finland and the United Kingdom, where policies for artists are administratively based on a statutory 'arm's length' model with a corporatist character, allow income averaging as a more flexible tax arrangement (McAndrew, 2002: 4).

Interestingly, researchers observed an increase in the number of artist-run businesses, which seems to be necessitated by the fact that it makes income averaging possible and it allows artists to make tax deductions of their professional expenses (Ellmeier, 2003; McAndrew, 2002; McAndrew and McKimm, 2010; Throsby and Hollister, 2003). The UK 'model' has started directing artists toward entrepreneurship, informing them on how to set up small and medium sized enterprises in the creative industries (Ellmeier, 2003: 9). This reorientation is being backed by market incentive policies as well as training for artists in cultural management (ibid). However, a recent study showed that visual artists do not inherently gain entrepreneurial skills such as strategic thinking, planning and networking during their studies and are often daunted by the business and entrepreneurship language (Thom, 2015: 70). This means that operating small artist-run businesses still poses difficulties for artists (ibid), even though they are "hailed as 'model entrepreneurs' by industry and government figures" (Gill and Pratt, 2008: 4). In addition, "training costs to update or maintain professional skills are tax deductible but

the cost of acquiring new skills is not" (Staines, 2004: 53). Researcher Judith Staines emphasised the problem with this policy, maintaining that "acquiring new skills is necessary to remain up to date with the requirements of any profession, particularly when selling one's skills as a freelance operator" (ibid). It is contradictory that policy circles, especially in the UK, are encouraging independent artists to operate as entrepreneurs within the creative industries, even though the relevant legal fields have not adapted to the situation (ERICarts, 2006: 37). These issues of taxation have been central in studies that examine the living and working conditions of artists. Research in the two regulatory areas explored has tended to focus on how they are part of a state's policy for artists and how they impact on artists' working patterns and careers.

Another recurring theme is the issue of collective representation. Visual artists, like other working professionals, tend to form associations to represent them. When these associations are certified and validated by higher authorities, they gain the exclusive authority to bargain on behalf of artists in the sector and the power to campaign the government for improved conditions and status (MacPherson, 1999: 20). The International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA) asserts the position that national visual artists' associations should amalgamate to communicate information about their work in the areas of advocacy, policy development, sector leadership and service provision. There are several artists' associations that operate on a local, national and often international level. Although responsibility for artist policy may lie with Ministries of Culture or Arts Councils, it is often informed and influenced by expert bodies, professional

associations and artists' trade unions. These organisations play an important role in the formulation and implementation of policies for the arts and artists, and can significantly influence artists' careers. For example, Dietrich Rueschemeyer (1997) noted that artists' associations in Norway are consequential in negotiations with the government, as well as in the decision-making process of applications. Researchers Marianna D'Ovidio and Marc Pradel (2012: 71) maintained that even regional artists' associations, such as the Visual Artists' Association of Catalonia, play the role of defending the professionalisation of artists; this is achieved "through the creation of standards, the promotion of formal relations with public and private institutions and the protection of their professional interests" (ibid). It is observed that most visual artists' associations were developed with national advocacy and lobbying objectives. However, they differ from artist unions. Trade unions in England and Scotland not only represent artists at strategic decision-making levels, they also negotiate fair pay and better working conditions for them (Artists' Union England, 2014). Artists' associations in Cyprus operate at a significantly smaller capacity; in Chapter Four of this thesis (p.159), two artists' groups are critically examined and several issues are raised regarding the networking of artists, the representation of their professional interests and the impact associations have on their careers. Artists' perceptions and experiences are also incorporated into this analysis.

Beyond the organised associations, Bain (2005: 37) argued that informal social networks likely develop among artists. They often emerge during undergraduate or graduate fine art programmes, from regularly attending exhibition openings, from word-of-mouth introductions, or from habitually

attending bars and cafés frequented by artists (ibid). 'Membership' in these informal social networks is not inconsequential to the sustainability of artists' work or to their professionalisation; it becomes a valuable means of "combating the isolation of the studio" and exchanging information on employment, grants, sources of materials, housing and important new work emerging in the field (ibid). These networks are more difficult to explore and have not been of central concern to researchers thus far.

Visual artists seem to make attempts to overcome the challenges they encounter in their careers. Could these career challenges be considered identity threats as well? Martin (2007) suggested that symmetrical to the upward dynamics of artistic careers, there is a "negative system that encloses the artist in a circle [...] artists who cannot prove themselves, or who fail tests that provide access to greater legitimation, become 'stuck'" (ibid: 26). She argued that these challenges may lead to the artist's eventual exclusion from the network of tests (ibid). It seems possible then that a threat to one's career could cause the structure of their artistic identity to change (Breakwell: 1986) Despite these assertions, the factors that influence artistic development cannot be considered as strictly positive or explicitly negative. Perhaps a more ontological perspective of these influences can provide a different understanding of the dynamics that affect visual artists' careers. This study intends to explore an alternative approach to this matter that takes into consideration their subjective meanings and idiosyncratic conditions.

2.7. Concluding Remarks

This review analysed how researchers from various disciplines have investigated the forms and conditions of artistic labour. It had aimed to explore the definitions of key terms and phrases such as 'artist', 'professional', 'living and working conditions', 'artistic identity' and 'artistic careers', and to establish a theoretical basis for the present study. This analysis has been conveyed in three parts. Initially, the review examined the discourse that developed around notions of identity and artistic identity, which has proven to be multifaceted and sometimes even contradictory. For instance, some art historians consider the concept of artistic identity to be interlinked with an artist's personal artistic style, the element that distinguishes him or her from other artists. Researchers from other fields discussed how artistic identity relates to the artist myth. They indicated that some of the perceptions and depictions of the artist as a craftsperson, an intellectual, a genius, a bohemian, a rebel and an authoritative individual, are perpetuated to this day and contribute to the construction of an artistic identity.

Subsequently, the chapter offered a synoptic and selective literary reading of how the artist's persona developed throughout the centuries in Western Europe. It disentangled the variegated definitions of the artist and the inconsistent applications of these definitions in research. Some approaches have tended to define visual artists against the standards of the profession; for example, one would be considered an artist if he or she graduated from an art academy or is a member of a professional artists' association. Other definitions were embedded with some elements from the institutional theory of art and defined artists in relation to how they operated within the artworld.

The differing perspectives led me to examine the challenges associated with this task. Further questions were generated regarding the way definitions are collectively constructed, the authority of the individuals involved in delineating the contours of the profession and the implications of specific definitional choices.

Finally, there was an attempt to investigate the conceptual relationship between these descriptions and artists' career development as well as the nature of contemporary artistic expression in Cyprus. Research on visual artists' careers has thus far been conducted by researchers in the fields of cultural economy, arts marketing and career counselling. These studies have focused on identifying the stages of artists' careers and the factors that advance or inhibit their progress. However, visual artists' careers have been largely neglected in cultural policy research; this perspective can investigate the socially and individually constructed nature of a career, how artistic careers intersect with artistic identities, and the way that the process of professionalisation relates to these concepts. The research presented in this review acts as the basis for the analysis and discussion in Chapters Four, Five and Six, which address the research gaps that were identified in this chapter.

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The literature review suggests that there is a need for further research into visual artists' perception of self and into their living and working conditions in Cyprus. In order to address the paucity of knowledge in this field, this study raises the following questions: 'what are the possible correlations between artistic identity and the way visual artists organise their arts practice?' and 'what are the contextual factors that influence visual artists' life and work?'. These research questions do not aim to test a hypothesis or reach a 'certain' conclusion. Instead, their phraseology suggests that research should focus on the exploration of meanings and the social context in which they occur.

Grounded theory was seen as well suited for this endeavour, since its goal is to formulate abstract categories based on empirical data which enable the explanation of the phenomenon under study. This chapter discusses the development of Grounded Theory as a research methodology and elucidates how the data for this study was collected and analysed. The following section further explicates the methodology's appropriateness for the current study.

3.2. Research Paradigm

The methodology and the instruments of inquiry used to investigate a phenomenon are based on various assumptions about how the world works and how it might be understood (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 22). Rowland (1995: 278) argued that any research study reflects a particular worldview composed of at least three philosophical layers: ontology (the study of the nature of being), epistemology (the theory of knowledge) and methodology (the system of methods). He elucidated that "particular ontological beliefs lead us to make particular epistemological assumptions" (ibid); explanations of how people come to know about the world depend on what we believe the world to be. It follows that particular epistemological assumptions lead us to make certain methodological choices. The activities carried out fit with how humans are assumed to come to know (Rowland, 1995: 278).

Constructivism denies the existence of an objective reality, "asserting instead that realities are social constructions of the mind, and that there exist as many such constructions as there are individuals (although clearly, many constructions will be shared)" (Guba and Lincoln, 1989: 43). Mills et al (2006: 2) maintained that researchers who deny the existence of an objective reality "assume a relativist ontological position". Concepts such as rationality, truth, reality, right, good, or norms are understood as "relative to a specific conceptual scheme, theoretical framework, paradigm, form of life, society, or culture [...] there is a non-reducible plurality of such conceptual schemes" (Bernstein, 1983: 8). It follows that the concept of reality is elusive and that meaning is reliant on context.

Mills et al (2006:2) noted that epistemologically, constructivism "emphasises the subjective interrelationship between the researcher and the participant", and posited that the researcher is a co-constructor of meaning since he or she inevitably become part of the research endeavour. Charmaz (2000: 528) considered that it is essential to identify our epistemological premises so that we may acknowledge the limitations of the study and how we may impact it. Hence, epistemological integrity is addressed in the last part of this chapter.

Constructivism is considered a suitable philosophical research position for this study, the aim of which is to understand the contextualised social situations of the lives of visual artists in Cyprus. By adopting this research paradigm I was able to understand how artists construct and perceive their artistic identity, as well as reveal their perceptions of their own conditions.

These ontological and epistemological assumptions have led me to choose grounded theory as a methodological approach. How this data is collected and analysed inevitably influences the development of a grounded theory. For this reason, it is imperative to detail and explain the methods used in this study. More specifically, the following sections describe and reflect on the process of data collection, analysis and synthesis using grounded theory methods.

3.3. Developing a Grounded Theory Approach

3.3.1. Background and Discussion

Grounded Theory Methodology is an "inductive, theory-building process of inquiry", developed in 1967 by Glaser and Strauss (Parry and Meindl, 2002: 202). It aims to systematically generate theories of human behaviour that are grounded in empirical data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 1). Considering the lack of data on the situation of visual artists in Cyprus and the aims of this study, it was considered suitable to adopt a methodology that would generate new theory from data, as opposed to testing an existing one.

Dey (1999: 1-2) developed twelve key features of Grounded Theory which seem to provide a starting point for the discussion of the methodology in a number of other publications (Urquhart, 2013: 4-5; Trauth, 2000: 107).

1. The aim of grounded theory is to generate or discover a theory.
2. The researcher has to set aside theoretical ideas to allow a substantive theory to emerge.
3. Theory focuses on how individuals interact in relation to the phenomenon under study.
4. Theory asserts a plausible relation between concepts and sets of concepts.
5. Theory is derived from data acquired through fieldwork interviews, observations and documents.
6. Data analysis is systematic and begins as soon as data is available.
7. Data analysis proceeds through identifying categories and connecting them.
8. Further data collection (or sampling) is based on emerging concepts.
9. These concepts are developed through constant comparison with additional data.
10. Data collection can stop when new conceptualisations emerge.
11. Data analysis proceeds from 'open' coding through 'axial' coding to 'selective' coding around an emerging storyline.
12. The resulting theory can be reported in a narrative framework or as a set of propositions. (Dey, 1999: 1-2)

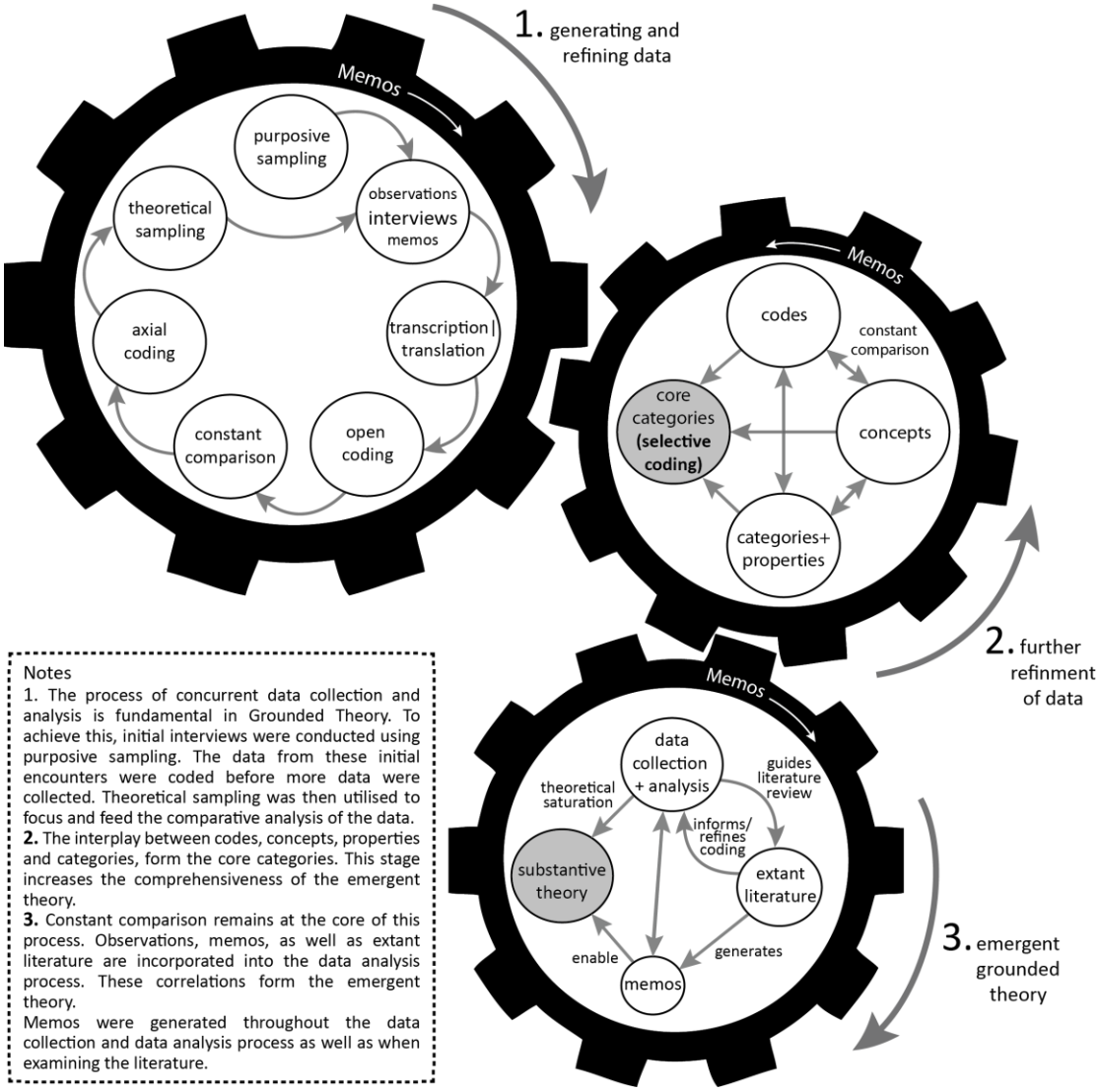
In keeping with the methodology's conventions (statement 1 and 4), *the theory* in this study evolved during the research process itself and was a product of continuous interplay between data collection and data analysis (Goulding, 1999: 4). Urquhart (2013: 6) suggested that the theory generated as a result of using this method "is often represented as a narrative framework, a diagram, or a set of hypotheses" (statement 12). This study has made use of 'storyline' as a mechanism for constructing and conveying the grounded theory that emerged (Birks and Mills, 2011: 118), while a set of diagrams support the narrative. Later in this chapter (p.94) I elucidate how this mechanism was utilised to present the findings and develop a discussion of the emerging theory.

The above statements also mention the fundamental principles of *data collection and data analysis* (statements 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11). Constant comparison is at the heart of the process and an essential feature of grounded theory. The strategies used in the study resulted in "the generation of theory that explicates a phenomenon from the perspective, and in the context of those who experience it" (Birks and Mills, 2011: 16). These key features of Grounded Theory are consistent with the study's original aim and are also explored in depth later in this chapter (p.88).

Meanwhile, there is a common belief that in Grounded Theory Methodology, *extant theory* is ignored or avoided until the end of the analytical process (statement 2). Birks and Mills (2011: 22) suggested that this conviction is maintained in order to prevent the researcher from imposing existing theories or knowledge on the study process and outcomes. However, Glaser and

Strauss (1967: 3) acknowledged that no researcher enters the field as a blank slate. Similarly, Altrichter and Posch (1989: 23-25) believed that realistically, a researcher cannot ignore the literature or approach a piece of research a-theoretically. Glaser (1978) discussed the role of existing theory and its importance in sensitising the researcher to the conceptual significance of emerging concepts and categories. He noted that knowledge and theory are inextricably interlinked and that data deriving from literature may be regarded as another informant (ibid). Figure 1 shows how grounded theory emerges from the data and illustrates the role of the extant literature.

Figure 1: Grounded Theory Methodology



One of the studies reviewed during the initial stages of the research, and which I analyse in more depth and detail in Chapter Five (p.207), was a study conducted by Røyseng et al (2007). In their research, they unpicked a number of themes pertaining to artistic identity. One of the themes revealed was artists' early certainty regarding their choice to become artists. In this study, I identified artists' early inclination to practice art as a concept which warranted

further investigation. It soon became one of the central concepts of a category which, joined with others, were later labelled ‘artist myth’. In some aspects, this concept was very similar to that described by Røyseng et al. These similarities indicate a degree of shared meaning between visual artists in Cyprus and young artists in Norway. I believe that my understanding of this concept did not facilitate the interpretation of the findings in my own research but that Røyseng et al’s work sensitised me to the concept in the data I collected. Although I did not aim to prove or disprove their theory, the realisation that there might be relevance in the data caused me to scrutinise the meaning of this concept for visual artists in my study. In my analysis I asked questions such as ‘what does this concept mean to visual artists?’, ‘how does it relate to their perception of self?’, ‘in what ways is my data similar to Røyseng et al’s findings?’, ‘what contradictions do my findings offer to the concept developed by the other researchers?’ and ‘what further insights into the concept have I gained?’. The extant literature was approached as another informant and the constant comparison method of analysis, which is central to Grounded Theory, was applied in this case as well. This comparison has allowed me to add depth and dimension to the concepts and categories emerging from my research, as well as build on other researchers’ work. The practice of constantly questioning incidents and concepts in an effort to extract meaning and contextualise a situation is paradigmatic of my personal philosophical position.

3.3.2. Data Collection: All Is Data

Empirical research was undertaken from January to September 2012 in Cyprus. Similar to other qualitative research strategies, the grounded theory approach applies multiple techniques to collect empirical data. However, 'all is data' is a well known dictum of Grounded Theory Methodology and a point of departure from other qualitative research methods. Glaser (2001: 145) stated that everything encountered or experienced in the research scene is data:

> "Whatever the source, whether interview, observations, documents, in whatever combination. It is not only what is being told, how it is being told and the conditions of its being told, but also all the data surrounding what is being told".

Throughout the course of the study I collected an extensive amount of data in the form of observations, personal reflections or memos, public records, documents, interview transcripts and extant literature. The emerging theory evolved through a cyclic process of data collection and data analysis.

Observations

In the early stages of the study, I took advantage of my time in London to explore the local art scene; this provided me with an initial frame of reference for visual artists' experiences that was specific to this geographical context. When I went to Cyprus for fieldwork, visits to exhibitions, including opening shows at commercial galleries, cultural institutions and artist-led spaces, were found to be of great assistance. Attendance to these events helped me gain a deeper understanding of the behaviours and interactions between individuals in the artworld and network with artists, curators, gallery directors and the public there. The data collected through these observations also informed early sampling decisions and refined the research agenda.

Memo Writing

Memos are a major analytic component of grounded theory. They were used to chart, record, and note details throughout the research study (Charmaz, 2006: 72). They are essentially written records of my perceptions, reflections and thought process during the entire study. As a result, they varied in subject, intensity, coherence, theoretical content and usefulness to the emerging theory.

Memoing started even before field work, during the initial review of the literature and methodology. They later became a central activity of the research process, especially during the data collection and analysis. Memos were written before and immediately after data collection as a means of documenting my preconceptions and impressions of the situation. The following memo was written after one of the interviews conducted:

September 5th, 2012
Memo on interview with visual artist I021
RE: Recording of interview

I found this interview a bit difficult in the beginning, in the sense that the artist did not seem to engage much with me after signing the consent form. It seems to be an issue for some artists who would rather not have the interview recorded and feel uncomfortable when they are. I also got a conspicuous case for the recording device so that it is not distracting. After realising her discomfort, which I recognised in her voice and body language, I changed the subject and talked about some of her children's work which she had put up. This seemed to work well for her and after some time she was able to open up.

Memoing continued during the data analysis process, with the recording of codes and concepts. Charmaz (2006: 72) explained that "when you write memos, you stop and analyse your ideas about the codes in any- and every-way that occurs to you during the moment", prompting the researcher to analyse the data early in the research process. Through the process of memo-writing, comparisons and connections were captured, allowing me to crystallise questions and directions which were then pursued. They helped me refine the data and later they assisted in the process of developing the theoretical categories (ibid). As Birks and Mills (2011: 10) suggested, writing consistently and profusely helps to build the researcher's intellectual assets.

Memoing also served as a mechanism that provided me with some distance from the data. Some memos contained personal reflections on the research, especially my perception of interviews and interviewees. They cultivated an analytical distance which enabled me to think about and reflect on the data. I recognised patterns in the details and saw how seemingly unrelated items might be connected. As suggested by Birks and Mills (2011: 8), I also wrote memos on earlier memos when new thoughts occurred after re-reading them in the light of later work. Samples of memos are located in Appendix 1.

Interviews

The primary source of data collection was in-depth interviews with visual artists. Interviews were conducted without the use of a prescribed formal schedule of questions. Following the suggestion of Birks and Mills (2011: 75), I was flexible in my use of the interview as a data generation strategy. Prior to designing the interview framework, I realised that expressions such as 'status

of the artist' and 'working conditions' could trigger specific narratives and overshadow artists' personal experiences. As a result, when describing the study's aims in the pre-interview telephone/email conversation and in the introduction to the interview itself, I was careful to avoid the use of such expressions.

I kept the interviews relatively informal and conversational (Charmaz, 2006: 29). The interview framework was designed to give as little guidance as possible, allowing visual artists to expand and reflect on their own experiences. The indicative topics prepared for the interviews are recorded in *Table 1* below. Very often, these topics were brought up by artists without being prompted; a few clarifying questions or comments usually sufficed to carry the interview. The initial question prompted artists to talk about how they came to become artists. This allowed them to respond in a narrative and often chronological manner about their experiences and their career development. Artists started by describing early incidents from their childhood which they believed to be influential to their artistic development. This was later explored as a central concept in the construction of artistic identity.

Table 1: Topics Discussed During Interviews With Visual Artists

- Visual artist's education and career development
- Factors that influence professional development
- Visual artist's relationship to cultural officers and art policy
- Visual artist's collaborations with commercial galleries
- The extent to which artist communicates with other artists
- Personal understanding of definition of art/artist

During the interviews I asked open-ended questions only when necessary and without being directive (Birks and Mills, 2011: 75). Charmaz (2006: 32) suggested that, to maintain theoretical sensitivity, one must try to tap the participant's "assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules" in order to make sense of the contextual factors that affect their lives. To achieve this, I also elicited the artist's definitions of terms such as 'art' or 'artist' and their reflections on the situations and events they were describing. Throughout the data collection and analysis process, I remained attuned to what these interpretations meant for my developing theory.

Data was analysed after each interview. Emerging themes were identified and indicative interview topics were reformulated to ensure that understanding was extended through subsequent discussions (Creswell, 1998; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This practice was interlinked with the process of theoretical sampling, which is explored in the following subsection.

About the Research Sample

Participants for the study were recruited using a combination of sampling methods. The data collected through observations at arts events, such as gallery exhibitions and artist gatherings, informed early sampling decisions. Initially, nine visual artists were purposely sampled to include diversity of age, gender, location and activity. These interviews were 'information-rich cases' that represented an array of experiences and perspectives (Patton, 1990: 169). They contributed to an initial understanding of the living and working situation of visual artists in the Republic of Cyprus and informed subsequent sampling decisions.

The refinement of concepts and categories prompted clarification and further understanding of specific areas, which led to the process of theoretical sampling. Glaser (1978: 36) defined theoretical sampling as the "process of data collection for generating theory, whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses the data and decides which data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop the theory as it emerges". The process of abstraction and integration generated the emerging theory. This sampling method prompted seventeen more interviews with visual artists. The following memo illustrates how theoretical sampling was utilised to explore a specific conceptual thread.

August 1st, 2012

Memo on Methodology

RE: Theoretical Sampling

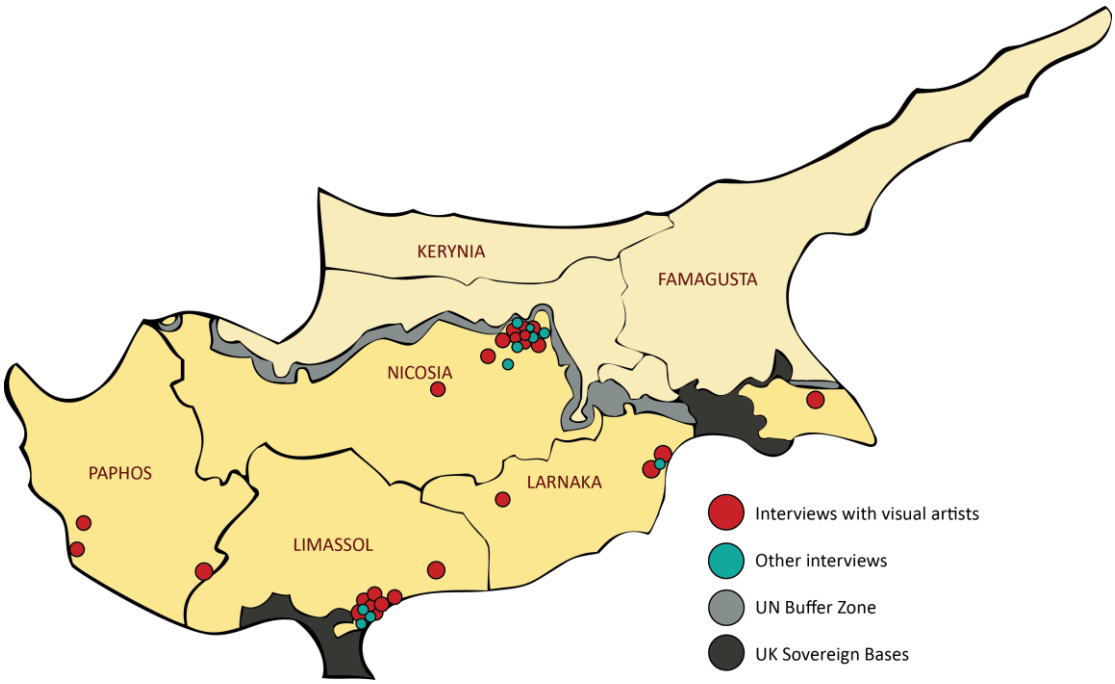
First I chose artists to interview because they had either exhibited their work recently, or I had heard them speak at an art event I attended, or because I felt they had an active or interesting visual arts practice, or because I needed to diversify the sample for age, gender and location. An initial observation was that a lot of the artists worked as art teachers as well. I wanted to explore this further so first I identified where they taught and in what capacity. Some of them worked as art teachers in the public education system (I06, I07) and others taught privately in their studios (I02, I08). Then I looked for other instances of artists teaching. I found that there were artists teaching in higher education as well. So, I interviewed an artist who taught at a University in Cyprus (I11). Then I was curious about how teaching influenced their art practice. I looked for instances where the artist taught part time or on a time-share basis (I012, I16) and instances where the artist had set up his/her own art institution with classes throughout the day (I18), to see if time was a influencing factor. I also wondered if there is a link between visual artists' education and their teaching, or their choice to teach. So, I made sure to look at artists from different educational backgrounds. In addition, while I investigated artists who taught in various capacities, I also interviewed artists who did not teach at all but were employed elsewhere (I09) as well as artists who worked exclusively on their visual arts practice (I13, I14). This is one of the conceptual threads being explored up to this point. Inductive and deductive reasoning is used to interpret the data collected and develop an understanding of artists' choices and experiences.

The literature review as well as initial interviews with visual artists illuminated the difficulties encountered when attempting to define the contours of the visual arts profession. Accordingly, in this study, 'visual artists' have come to be viewed as a fluid and heterogeneous category of artists who work with visual means- including but not limited to painting, print, sculpture, installation, photography and video art. In an effort to capture this diversity, I chose not to set strict definitional criteria for the sample. Nonetheless, as the theory developed, the sample was refined to include participants who showed a commitment to fine art, both as a central life activity and as a publicly proclaimed profession. Even though many of them maintained secondary occupations, mainly as art teachers, they all identified themselves as visual artists. They had exhibited professionally in solo or group shows, had spent more than one year in professional practice and had obtained a fine art degree from a higher education institution. All artists were based in the Republic of Cyprus, but most of them did not limit their activity there. Further details of the participants, including their age, gender, location of where they work, occupational characteristics and their choice of art mediums, can be seen in Appendix 2.

The mapping of interview locations with visual artists can be seen in Figure 2 below. The United Nations Buffer Zone, shown in light grey on the map, is a demilitarised zone that runs for more than 180 kilometres between the two de facto partitions of the island, the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus in the South and the Turkish administered area in the North. The United Kingdom also maintains two Sovereign Base Areas, indicated in dark grey. The scope of this thesis is limited to the study of visual artists living and

working in the Southern part of the island. As the map shows, interviewees were geographically spread, which ensured that a wide range of perspectives and experiences would be revealed. There are small clusters in urban areas and particularly in the capital, Nicosia, where more artists, galleries, and cultural institutions are located.

Figure 2: Geographical Location of Interviews with Visual Artists and Other Individuals from the Art Sector



The analysis of initial discussions with visual artists highlighted two important issues relating to the notion of support in the context of their living and working situation. The first was the role of the state in supporting artistic activity. State support was discussed at length in all interviews with visual artists and its influence seemed to have direct and enduring implications for

their living and working conditions. The second issue related to the role of the gallery in supporting visual artists from a commercial standpoint. As a result, I also conducted interviews with ten individuals from the art sector, including cultural service officers from the state and local authorities, gallery directors, collectors, art writers and a Member of the Parliament responsible for cultural affairs. A full list of participants from the art sector, detailing their profession and authority, can be found in Appendix 3. These individuals were also theoretically sampled and their perspectives, which were sometimes conflicting with visual artists' accounts, were integrated into the emerging theory.

Theoretical sampling is concerned with the refinement and, ultimately, the saturation of categories. It is presumed that theoretical saturation is achieved when no more incremental data can be identified (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 40). It is the point at which additional data collection becomes redundant and relationships between categories are firmly established (Spiggle, 1994: 493-4). However, the research paradigm adopted prompts me to question whether saturation is even possible. If meaning does not reflect a static reality and the world consists of a plurality of structures and mechanisms that generate the events that occur, it follows that modification of categories and changes in perspective are probable. Although I have strived for saturation of the emerging categories as Glaser and Strauss (1967: 40) suggested, I acknowledge that the theory emerged is provisional to change. Dey (1999: 117) maintained that researchers should constantly be alert to emergent perspectives; "these perspectives can easily occur on the final day of study or when the manuscript is reviewed in page proof: so the published word is not

the final one, but only a pause in the never-ending process of generating theory" (ibid). Considering that empirical research was undertaken amidst Cyprus' most difficult economic crisis, the situation of visual artists is likely to be subject to continuous change. In order to increase the validity of my findings, I have collected data from multiple perspectives, achieving a comprehensive rendering of artistic identities and the living and working situation of visual artists in Cyprus at the time of study.

Interview Logistics and Ethical Considerations

Interviews with visual artists and the individuals from the art sector lasted an average of 45 minutes, with most interviews with artists lasting up to 90 minutes. The interviews with the individuals from the art sector took place in their offices. While some visual artists suggested a neutral location for their interview, most of them preferred to be interviewed in their studios. This often prolonged my stay by one or two hours while the artist showed me their work and talked about their art. This afforded visual artists control and comfort and allowed me to experience their work environments first-hand (Bain, 2004: 172).

All interviews, apart from two, were conducted in Greek, the language that participants were most comfortable using. They were all audio recorded with their consent, a sample of which can be seen in Appendix 4. They were subsequently transcribed and translated from Greek to English for the purpose of the analysis. During this process I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the content. Informal observations, impressions and

comments at each visit, particularly at informal meetings with artists, were recorded in the form of memos and incorporated in the data analysis process.

The study was guided by the ethical principles on research with human participants set out by the University. Ethical approval was sought and granted by the University's ethics committee and the Data Protection Office in Cyprus. The ethical considerations for the research includes: informed consent, non-disclosure of information and appropriate storage of data as discussed below.

Once individuals participating in the study were assured of their confidentiality, the issue of informed consent was addressed. Participants were fully informed of the nature of the research both verbally and in writing. An information sheet explaining the aim of the study, that included my credentials and contact details, was given to all participants. To ensure anonymity, all data collected obscured personal details by replacing the participants' names with ascending code numbers in the order of the interviews, so that they are unidentifiable in the thesis (I001, I002 for artists and AS01, AS02 for individuals from the art sector). I used continuous line numbering in all transcriptions to assist in referencing interview data. For example, excerpts from interviews with artists and individuals from the art sector are cited as follows: (interview code, line number) or (I014, 234-238). Since some of the data was sensitive, participants were ensured that no third party will have access to the data collected. All data, including recordings, memos and written material pertaining to the research are securely stored. Only the researcher and the team of supervisors will have access to the

primary information. A backup system is in place to ensure digital transcripts and primary data are secure, and have been stored on multiple devises (including hard discs, USBs and emails) and safely kept in secondary locations.

3.3.3. Data Analysis

As illustrated in Figure 1 (p.73) earlier in this chapter, the emerging theory evolved through a cyclic process of data collection and analysis. The data analysis process was also cyclical and repetitive, even though it is linearly represented in Figure 3 (p.90) for the purpose of conceptual order. The levels of coding were less strictly defined and I often coded at different levels concurrently in order to extract meaning.

Several coding techniques were used to examine participants' experiences at different levels of analysis; that is, open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Each level corresponded to specific coding methods but they all contributed to the development of a theoretical understanding of artistic identities and of artists' living and working conditions. From early on, it was necessary to develop my own understanding of the coding process and the terminology, given that each grounded theorist used slightly different jargon (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Clarke, 2005; Charmaz, 2006). The following paragraphs explain this terminology and act as a precursor to the discussion that ensues, which focuses on the levels of analysis.

Incidents are strings of words from the interview transcript (or any other text) that reveal some kind of meaning, and are captured by a conceptual code. In this study, each interview was first transcribed in Greek and analysed sentence by sentence for grammatical indications which could have been lost in translation. It was then translated into English and analysed again using line-by-line open coding.

Codes are a form of shorthand that I used to identify conceptual occurrences and similarities in the patterns of participants' experiences. Initial codes were written for the incidents found in each of the transcripts or texts analysed. The correlations between the Greek and English transcript produced higher level codes. This process was repeated for each interview (see Appendix 5).

Concepts were formed from groups of codes. They were developed from a comparative analysis of the higher level codes produced from each interview transcript and new incidents and codes from subsequent interviews (see Appendix6).

Properties and *Categories* are produced from the constant comparative analysis of concepts, codes and incidents. These are essentially themes arising from the interviews, organised in categories and subcategories. The analysis of interview transcripts generated 72 categories and about 160 properties (see Appendix 7).

Core categories emerged through the cyclical process of collecting data, coding incidents and codes and then comparing those incidents, codes and concepts in the data with the properties and categories from which they originated. With each new interview, properties and categories were compared to each other and to new incidents, codes and concepts (see Appendix 8).

Figure 3 below illustrates the coding process and the development of theory. It is necessary to allow the core categories to 'earn' their way into an emerging theory in order to avoid conjecture (Glaser, 1978). Constant comparison was at the heart of data analysis. Charmaz (2006: 187) maintained that constant

comparative analysis is a method of analysis that generates successively more abstract concepts and theories through inductive processes of comparing incidents with codes, incidents with concepts, concepts with concepts, concepts with categories, categories with categories and categories with codes. It is a process that continued until the grounded theory was fully integrated. Holton (2007: 277) explained that grounded theory utilises constant comparative analysis to establish analytic distinctions as well as to determine the extent to which the data supports the categories that are emerging. The three levels of analysis that are examined in the next subsections describe the emergence of a grounded theory.

Figure 3: Coding Process

Open Coding

Interview analysis began after the first two interviews were conducted in order to allow for cross-interview comparisons. Charmaz (2006, 55) asserted that the initial coding of interviews "makes fundamental processes explicit, renders hidden assumptions visible, and gives participants new insights". I can concur that the initial level of coding led to more abstract interpretations of my interview data and the coding of incidents aided in the discovery of patterns and contrasts within and between data sets.

Open coding, also known as line-by-line coding, provided a good starting point to identify initial incidents and produce a list of themes of importance to each interviewee. Conceptual codes were attached to almost every line in the interview transcript to capture the meaning of what was being said and corresponded closely to the interview context. A number of these were *in vivo codes*, i.e. codes that capture participants' words as representative of a broader concept in the data (Birks and Mills, 2011: 91). These codes reflected assumptions, actions and perspectives that were specific to visual artists' social context. They used words such as 'quality', 'freedom' and 'truth' which had specific meanings to visual artists and the other professionals interviewed. Charmaz (2006: 56) explained that "such codes anchor your analysis in your research participants' worlds"; studying them allowed me to develop a deeper understanding of that was happening and what was meant.

The detailed and meticulous process of line-by-line coding helped me open up the text and make sense of it before crystallising and condensing the meanings emerging from it. Strauss and Corbin (1998: 77) suggested using initial or

'sensitising questions' in order to grasp what the data might be indicating. Suggested questions are 'Who are the actors involved?', and 'What are the actors' definitions and meaning of these phenomena or situations?'. A sample of how this coding method was used to analyse interview transcripts can be seen in Appendix 5 (for open coding) and Appendix 6 (for how concepts and codes were sorted). This process was exemplary of my early analysis and illustrates the transition between the first and second level of coding.

Axial Coding

The next level of analysis was axial coding. These codes are applied to larger segments of the data and require the researcher to choose the most telling codes to represent the interviewee's voice (Charmaz, 2006: 57). Using open codes as a starting point, the process of axial coding helped to verify the adequacy of the developing concepts. For this level of analysis it was necessary to go back and forth between interviews, in an attempt to synthesise and crystallise concepts. Spiggle (1994: 494) suggested that "the theoretical significance of a concept springs from its relationship to other concepts or its connection to a broader gestalt of an individual's experience". The characteristics of concepts were dimensionalised in terms of their intensity or weakness, they were 'tested' on subsequent interview transcripts, and cross-referenced with previous ones in order to explore topics that might have been too implicit to identify initially.

In Figure 3, *in vivo* codes are used to remark on incidents in the interview transcripts. In the first excerpt, these related to the concepts of 'income deriving from artistic work', 'sales from artworks', 'collaboration with

galleries' and 'demand for the artist's work'. In the fourth, the concepts 'definitional ambiguity' and 'criteria resistant' were identified. Other related concepts emerged in subsequent interviews which were analysed comparatively in an effort to extract a higher level of meaning. These concepts specified the dimensions of a larger category ('definition of the artist') and its property ('definition by criteria'). To understand the dynamics between categories and properties, I asked questions such as 'how are these elements related?', 'what does this category or property mean to interviewees?' and 'how do other individuals understand these concepts?'. Axial coding helped to clarify and extend the analytic power of emerging ideas. A diagram was designed to illustrate this coding method and it can be found in Appendix 9.

Selective Coding

The most advanced level of coding was selective coding. It explored the relationships established between categories in order to refine the developing theory. De Vos et al. (2005: 349, cited in Burden and Roodt, 2007: 16) mentioned that "selective coding entails the process of selecting the core categories, systematically relating them to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development" (ibid). When working at this level of analysis I mostly focused on the conceptual categories that I had previously developed as well as other sources of data, including the extant literature. Consulting the literature was an equally important part of theory development and as Woods (2006) claimed, the main way of making comparisons outside the study. When I became comfortable with the development of some aspect of my theoretical understanding, I wrote it out, often in the form of a memo, and attempted to

explicate it by returning to the initial stages of the coding process. This aided in making my analysis coherent and comprehensible.

The process described above brought all the data together in order to look at it as a consistent whole. Going through these levels of coding enabled me to make the leap “from concrete events and descriptions of them to theoretical insight and theoretical possibilities” (Charmaz, 2006: 71). I began to “unify ideas analytically”, keeping in mind the possible theoretical meanings of my data (ibid). By testing my assumptions about the emerging theory, I was able to generate further categories and properties that increased their generality and explanatory powers (Glaser and Strauss, 1968: 24). Charmaz (2006: 154) suggested that this process of integrating and theorising extends beyond the coding practice, into the writing up stage that is described in the following section.

3.4. Developing a Narrative

The practice of writing, rewriting and editing is crucial to the analytic process; "the researcher brings out implicit arguments, provides their context, makes links with extant literatures, critically examines categories, presents analysis, and provides data that support the analytic arguments" (Charmaz, 2006: 154). During the past twenty months of writing up, I have gained a greater understanding of the data. I have been able to establish clearer connections between the core categories and create a coherent narrative. Each successive draft has grown more theoretical and comprehensive.

The narrative developed, or the 'storyline' as it was described by Birks and Mills (2011: 118), "assists in the production of the final theory and provides a means by which the theory can be conveyed to the reader". Similarly, Locke (2001: 36) maintained that "a useful theory will tell an enlightening story about some aspect of the world, providing insight into and broader understanding of it". It is a mechanism for presenting findings in a coherent and integrative way. The use of this mechanism allowed me to explain the relationships between the concepts, codes, properties and categories that made up my theory as a "running theoretical discussion" (Goulding, 2002: 91). The following chapters will show that the focus of the developing narrative shifted from artists' living and working conditions to artistic identity and the development of artistic careers. This shift was predicated by the analysis of discussions with visual artists, which indicated that an understanding of their living and working conditions would only be possible within a broader understanding of artistic identity. To focus on their living and working conditions in isolation would render a partial and limited picture

of what was going on. The substantive theory of artistic identities and the development of artistic careers that evolved through this thesis is characterised by multiple expectations, needs and pluralistic considerations that are grounded in the data. Hence, it is inclusive of notions about their living and working conditions but not restricted to them.

This theory is presented through a style of writing that blends analytic statements with supporting illustrative excerpts from the setting- moving "back and forth between theoretical interpretation and empirical evidence" (Charmaz, 2006: 153). Locke (2001: 116) explained that the writing should attempt to "take the reader analytically forward to the developed theoretical elements and back to the data fragments that instanced the theory". In the following chapters, the research findings and the discussion/analysis of those findings are interwoven, inviting the reader to see the "closeness of the relationship between data and theory" (ibid: 119). The developed theory is recast in the light of extant theory; it extends and sometimes challenges existing explanations or notions of the situation of visual artists and artistic identity. In addition, rhetorical devices and other writing strategies used in the text, mirror how the grounded theory was constructed. The inquisitive approach adopted in the data analysis process as well as the constant comparative method used for developing grounded theory, is evident in the writing. Finally, following the detailed discussion of the various theoretical components that influence visual artists' living and working conditions, and the elements that contribute to the construction of artistic identity in Chapters Four and Five, Chapter Six presents the integrative theoretical framework of artistic career development. A set of composite diagrams were also generated

in an attempt to visualise the fluctuant and heterogeneous nature of visual artists' careers, including the role of the 'external' components that influence them.

3.5. Biases, Limitations and Challenges

At this point it is important to note the limitations and take into account the biases and challenges of the study. Firstly, it should be acknowledged that the review and discussion of the literature relies mostly on academic research that is based on an understanding of the social, political and cultural systems of the 'Western world', that is, Europe, North-America and Australia. Although Cyprus had historically been influenced by 'Eastern' cultures as well, the image of the Republic of Cyprus today was purportedly constructed according to modernist ideals and values adopted during the British colonialism and in the process of becoming a European Union member state (Peristianis, 2008: 26; Pyrgos, 1993: 47; Severis, 2000: 192). In addition, the participants of this study had been exposed to the intellectual and artistic movements of the 'West' during their educational pursuits abroad; as a result, they continuously referred to the cultural developments they experienced in the countries where they had been to elucidate their experiences in Cyprus. Accordingly, the academic literature discussed in this thesis seemed to be more relevant to the interpretation of the findings and to the understanding of the situation of visual artists living and working in the Southern part of the island.

As previously mentioned, visual artists residing in the Northern, occupied part of Cyprus are beyond the scope of this study. It is likely that their inclusion would have significantly expanded the purview of the research since it would

essentially discuss the situation of visual artists in two very distinct social, political and cultural systems. This might have been an interesting approach if it were a comparative study or a larger-scale research project. Instead, this thesis focuses on the national context of the Republic of Cyprus and refers to the European and international framework where relevant. This meant that most interviewees were Greek-Cypriots, since they are the largest ethno-linguistic community in the Southern part of the island, but other ethnic and religious minority groups, such as Armenian-Cypriots, British-Cypriots and American-Cypriots, are also represented in this study. It should also be noted that this study did not intend to explore the situation of *Cypriot artists* but the situation of artists living and working in Cyprus, irrespective of their origin. It follows that Cypriot artists based abroad are not represented in this thesis. Artists no longer working/producing work were also excluded from the study because the objective in this instance was to gain insights from artists who are active and still working within existing constructs.

There is also an epistemological point to be made about the study. In the chapters that follow, the interpretations of the findings rely on artists' reflections of their conditions and experiences; these are subjective representations of their 'reality', constructed through an exchange between the participant and myself. I acknowledged that the information shared through this process was already an interpretation, and I was therefore vigilant not to convey it as the 'truth'. Methodologically, in qualitative research, perhaps the most important limitation is that any generalisations need to be made with caution since the sample is often not statistically representative of the whole population in question. However, the aim of this

study has been to explore meanings within the specific social context rather than to generate statistical generalisations. Nonetheless, insights from interviews with visual artists and other individuals from the sector contributed to the development of a theoretical framework for artists' career development, from which certain theoretical generalisations and logical inferences were possible.

Focusing on the interviews conducted, a number of observations can be made. Most visual artists were interviewed in their studios, which were often an extension of their domestic environment, and some interruptions were unavoidable. However, as Bain's (2004: 172) research suggested, the opportunity to visit the artist's studio is often rare and it allows the researcher to experience their working environments firsthand. My stay was often extended as a result. In one case, at one of my earlier interviews, the artist had begun to guide me around his studio before we started the interview and talked about the development of his artistic style throughout the years. The details he shared were interesting and respectfully, I did not interrupt him but I smoothly relayed the conversation to the topic of my research, which he had not fully understood. This initial discussion was not audio-recorded since I had not obtained consent in advance. However, during the formal interview, I referred to several of the points he had mentioned previously and asked him to elaborate on what he had said.

The interview approach maintained a level of flexibility. For the most part, this was advantageous because the respondents could expand on their own perspectives without directives. According to Wimmer and Dominick (1997:

140), this approach can also cause confusion either due to the lack of understanding of the question by the participant or by the lack of understanding of the respondent's answer by the interviewer. To minimise the possibility of misinterpreting information, I asked short clarifying questions where necessary or, very rarely, repeated my understanding of what they had said in order to confirm its accuracy. Nonetheless, this approach led to lengthy interviews, most of which lasted about 90 minutes.

As previously mentioned, the majority of interviews were conducted in Greek. They were all audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim in the original language; only minor edits were made to ensure clarity. This process, although time consuming, allowed me to capture the nuances of language and meanings, maintain a level of intimacy with the data and develop a better understanding of the participants' perspectives. The interviews were subsequently translated from Greek to English. The style of language and the syntaxes of the original language were retained in the translated text. Due to linguistic and cultural differences, there were instances where compatible terms for translation could not be found and some expressions had to be partially rephrased.

Although Greek is my native language, I am able to use English with nearly equal proficiency, so I decided to undertake both tasks myself. I had not anticipated the volume of work involved and it was overwhelming at times. Wanting to maintain consistency in the transcriptions and translations of the interviews and due to financial constrains, I committed to completing the tasks myself. Consequently, the data collection and analysis phase spanned a

period of about a year. In retrospect, I believe that I would have benefited from assigning these tasks to a professional and maintaining a monitoring and reviewing position instead.

Due to some drawbacks, including the necessity to move to a different university during the writing up period, the process of writing, rewriting and editing the thesis has lasted nearly twenty months. The implications of these interminable processes have been both positive and adverse. The duration over which the study has extended, allowed me to gain some distance from the project and a clearer perspective of the situation. However, as I elaborate in the conclusion to this thesis, since the empirical work was undertaken, the economy in Cyprus has deteriorated further. It is likely that this has presented challenges to the conditions of visual artists which have not been reflected in this thesis.

3.6. Concluding Remarks

The analytic strategies employed in this study have proven useful for developing an understanding of artistic identity and of the contextual factors that affect visual artists' living and working conditions, especially given how little was already known about the situation of visual artists in Cyprus. Utilising Grounded Theory Methodology also provided an opportunity to generate new insights into artistic career development.

A significant advantage of this approach is its focus on, and distinct guidelines for, generating theory. For this study, a reflective approach to research was adopted. Data collection, data analysis and theory development were not seen as distinct and discrete stages but as a cyclical process which was repeated until a level of theoretical saturation could be reached. Constant comparative analysis of the data made it possible to elaborate and integrate data to the point where no new evidence occurred within a category. As categories became saturated by evidence, they formed a foundation for further questioning about the underlying process. Data collected through interviews with visual artists and other individuals from the art sector were augmented with additional data from memos, participant observations and the extant literature. The methodology's guidelines and the methodological decisions I made throughout the research allowed the grounded theory to slowly develop from the empirical data. These strategies contributed to a more consistent and systematic qualitative study.

Nonetheless, like other qualitative research methodologies, grounded theory has been subjected to considerable criticism. The findings of qualitative

studies are often considered partial and intuitive. Since the process of data collection and analysis is filtered through the eyes of the researcher, they are criticised for lacking scientific rigour. Goulding (2002: 18) suggested that researchers "should adopt a rigorous and self-conscious examination for bias at each stage of the research process". Accordingly, rigour was not abandoned in favour of interpretation. This chapter has evidentially demonstrated the clarity, openness, honesty and consistency in the adoption of the methodology, as well as the reflexive approach maintained during the data collection and analysis process. As the guidelines for grounded theory entailed, I checked for negative incidents in the data and accounted for occurrences that did not fit the emerging story (ibid). In the study, I have given preference to the meanings of the participants and have aimed to render these meanings in an honest and transparent way. The provision of such evidence has promoted a rigorous and scholarly attitude towards the methodology, which has consequentially enhanced the credibility of the study (Becker, 1993: 259). The following three chapters are the outcome of the analysis of the empirical data, and explore what it might mean to be a visual artist in Cyprus at present.

4. Visual Artists in Cyprus, in Desire of a 'Creative Infrastructure'

4.1. Introduction

Cherbo and Wyszomirski (2000: 14-18) referred to public and private policies and practices that directly or indirectly aid the development of artists and artistic activity as the "creative infrastructure" (Galligan and Cherbo, 2004: 3). Wyszomirski (2004: 16) suggested that in an ideal environment, the individual artist is surrounded by an infrastructure of supportive services and resources that aid them in their creative endeavours.

This chapter aims to identify and analyse the systems of support that are central to the functioning of the arts sector and the living and working situation of visual artists in Cyprus. In particular, it examines the role assumed by the state and its intervention in the cultural sector. It investigates the rationales that ground public action and analyses specific cultural policy mechanisms that seem to be favoured. Furthermore, this chapter explores the role of the infrastructure services that influence the development of artists working within the artworld. It evaluates the role of artists' associations and the management issues that prevent the development of a strong collective bargaining system. Lastly it explores the capacity of the commercial galleries that represent them and examines the relationships that are formed between individuals within the artworld.

4.2. Arts Policymaking and Implementation

4.2.1. Characteristics and Rationales

As examined in Chapter One, a recognised art scene in Cyprus emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century without a significant artistic past. The development of the visual arts was instigated by the return of a group of Cypriot artists who had studied at art schools abroad. Upon returning they "set the first foundations for art on the model of artistic endeavours that created new currents in Europe and America" (Schiza and Toumazou, 2010: 20). Meanwhile, the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 generated favourable conditions for the development of a systematic policy on culture (ibid).

The evolution of cultural policy in Cyprus is considered to be inextricably linked to the country's recent turbulent history. The state's policies have had to adapt to changing environments and conditions created by British rule, subsequent independence, the Turkish invasion, the EU entry and the recent economic crisis. Stylianou-Lambert et al (2014: 11) supported that cultural policy in Cyprus is "the result of gradually responding to the needs of cultural producers without the guidance of a general strategic plan". The lack of a clear long-term cultural development strategy resulted in the creation of ad hoc policies at the central and local levels.

Interestingly, the division principally responsible for culture was initially named 'Educational Services', a branch of the Ministry of Education founded in 1965 during the early stages of the Republic. It was upgraded to a department in 1992 and was renamed the 'Department of Cultural Services'

(Department of Cultural Services, 2013). In some ways, the structural arrangement it had with the Ministry benefited visual artists because a large number of them became employed by the state as art teachers. This employment safeguarded their living conditions and created favourable circumstances for young people to become involved in the arts.

In the 1960s, various foreign embassies created cultural centres in Cyprus and functioned as communication bridges with cultural developments in Europe and other neighbouring countries. Cypriot artists were encouraged, motivated and funded to take part in various exhibitions abroad (Schiza and Toumazou, 2010: 23). They started representing Cyprus in international artistic exhibitions such as the Biennales of Venice and Alexandria and the Triennale of New Delhi. Young Cypriots started to study at schools of art in Greece, England, France, Italy and Eastern European countries. The newly formed Republic seemed to be eager to 'export' national culture and promote intercultural dialogue through its initiatives. Its current policies and mechanisms, examined in the following subsections, still reflect these rationales.

Artists mentioned that following the events of 1974, political intervention became more visible in the art scene (I017, 374-382). The government funded numerous projects with nationalistic themes and messages about the reunification of the island. It commissioned monuments and funded projects in remembrance of the events. Schiza and Toumazou (2010: 81) noted that during that time, a number of visual artists made work that paid tribute to the departed, the survivors and the refugees. The changing political agenda

impacted policy decisions across all levels of government and funding schemes were subsequently modified. An additional problem of the post-war crisis was the fact that there were very few viable funding alternatives from the private sector. In the absence of private funding, artists and other creators became increasingly financially dependent on the state.

In the 1990s, the government's efforts were beginning to align with policy agendas that had been established by countries in the European Union. In 2003, in view of Cyprus' imminent accession to the EU, the government set new objectives for cultural policy which reflected the general goals articulated in the cultural policy discourses of the previous decades. Beyond the development of intellectual and artistic creativity, their main objectives were to utilise culture as a means for supporting sustainable economic development, achieving social cohesion, strengthening and boosting intercultural dialogue, supporting cultural tourism and promoting Cyprus as a cultural gateway of Europe to the Middle East and vice versa (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2003: 4). This objective was more easily achieved after the country's accession to the European Union in 2004, which allowed and encouraged the mobility of artists between EU member states. (ERICarts, 2008: 20).

The Department of Cultural Services in Cyprus is principally responsible for implementing cultural policy objectives. Its current mission is articulated as follows:

> The Cultural Services are the main exponent of the state's cultural policy in regards to contemporary culture. By being responsible for the development of the arts and letters in Cyprus, informing the public about cultural events and their

> participation in them, and promoting the achievements of our cultural activities abroad, the Department plays a vital role in shaping the cultural image of the country. (Department of Cultural Services, 2013)

This mission is achieved through various mechanisms that provide direct financial support to local authorities, cultural organisations, artists' associations and individual artists. The diction aforementioned establishes the government's role in the cultural field, which seems to be legitimated by diverse instrumental rationales. The rationale for such support oscillates between implementing a cultural policy with a social aim founded on the egalitarian principle, and an elitist policy founded on the principle of excellence in the arts (Ratiu, 2007: 206).

In the case of egalitarian policy, the government's intervention is mainly based on the rationale that 'access to culture' and that 'participation in cultural events' is important. Linked to its initial designation and the European Union's cultural democratic principles, the Department of Cultural Services aims to provide appropriate conditions in which the whole population can participate in the arts. Furthermore, the rationale that "a state does not only support those who excel, but artists in general" (AS01, 480-481), reflects the position of representative democracy in cultural policy. The cultural officer illustrated this point by stating:

> "We are certainly very open, and the applications we deal with surely reflect an open definition of the artist. Certainly there is no distinction between professional and amateur artists, in the sense that we fund an amateur association as well [as the professional artist associations]- everyone has the right to create". (AS01, 472-475)

Other interviewees also suggested that the Department of Cultural Services does not impose an administrative definition of the artist; instead, it seems that its mandate is to uniformly distribute public funds among all individuals who claim to exercise an artistic activity.

Still, following her earlier statement, the officer noted that *her* aim is to support more projects with "a strong concept" and "artistic quality" (AS01, 477-479). It seems that in the case of an elitist approach, the department's intervention in the arts and culture is based on the desire to promote 'achievements' and artistic excellence, even though such terms are not explicated in their policy documents.

It is possible that the department tries to maintain a balance between the two forms of legitimacy. However, Vestheim (2012: 536) contended that "popular cultural forms do not form the basis for state cultural policy, they remain in a subordinate position as a supplement to high culture"; he maintained that Western and Nordic countries only seemingly overcame the gap between the elitist and egalitarian paradigm and that popular cultural forms are supported in an effort to justify public spending for 'high culture' (ibid). The present study shows that this is probably not the case in Cyprus. While both incentives for state intervention seem to be maintained, there is no evidence to suggest a commitment to 'high culture'; on the contrary, there has been enduring support for popular culture and community projects (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2003: 32). There is, however, an outlook to *export* 'high culture', by promoting artistic achievements abroad. The mission statement shows that an equally important rationale for supporting culture is its capacity for

shaping the country's 'cultural image', that is, its ability to generate and carry national identity. Paschalidis (2009: 287) and Nisbett (2013: 558) linked such objectives to cultural diplomacy practices. This chapter later demonstrates precisely how some mechanisms that support individual visual artists aim at underpinning and projecting a contemporary cultural image of the island.

The country's economic difficulties and constant political struggles explain, in part, the slow and difficult emergence of an independent art scene, and justify the rationales behind the state's cultural policy. The following section examines the structure of the Department of Cultural Services at present with the aim of developing a greater understanding of the institutional system governing the arts.

4.2.2. Arts Funding and Systems of Control

As a division of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Department of Cultural Services is principally responsible for cultural policy design and implementation. However, responsibilities for heritage and antiquities are located in two separate departments in the Ministry of Communication and Works. Other important cultural functions, such as broadcasting and drama, are allocated to independent bodies at 'arm's length' from the government; an arm which, based on their funding arrangements, is admittedly short. The fragmented location of cultural responsibilities is "a result of the British colonial legacy and certain restrictive provisions which were enshrined in the 1960 constitution of the Republic" (Gordon et al, 2004: 10). Gordon et al (2004: 10) noted that "subsequent events and the inevitable political

sensitivities surrounding them have meant that change to structures has been limited".

Cultural officials maintained that the relationship of the Department of Cultural Services to the Ministry of Education and Culture is a dated model with a bureaucratic-technocratic structure (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2003: 55). In addition to 'culture', the Ministry is responsible for the entire educational system and a number of pedagogical institutes (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012). The diagram below illustrates the composition of the Ministry of Education and Culture and highlights the location of the Department of Cultural Services in this structure. The subsequent one indicates how the Department of Cultural Services is organised and highlights the field of the visual arts.

Figure 4: Organisational Structure of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013)

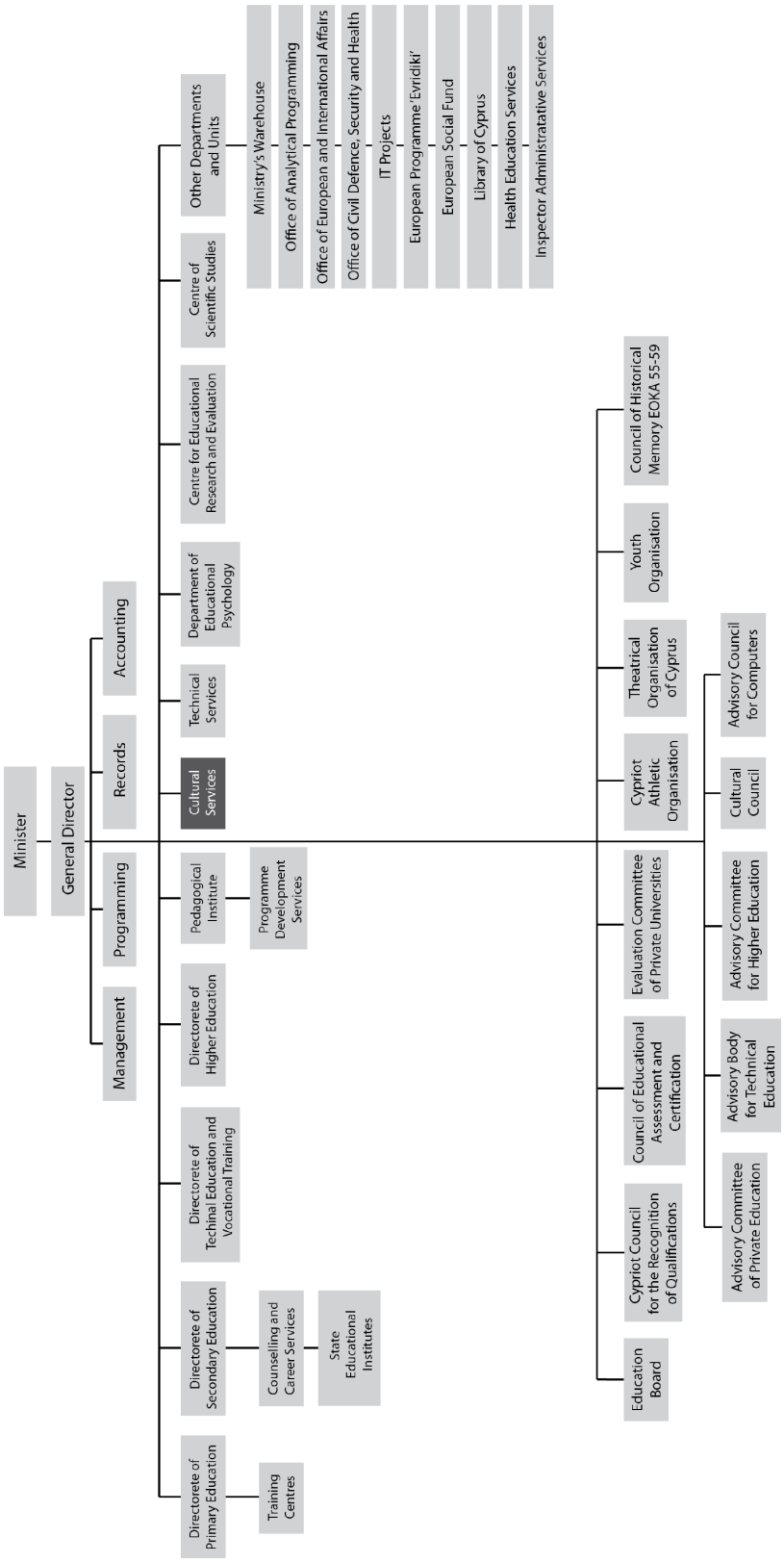
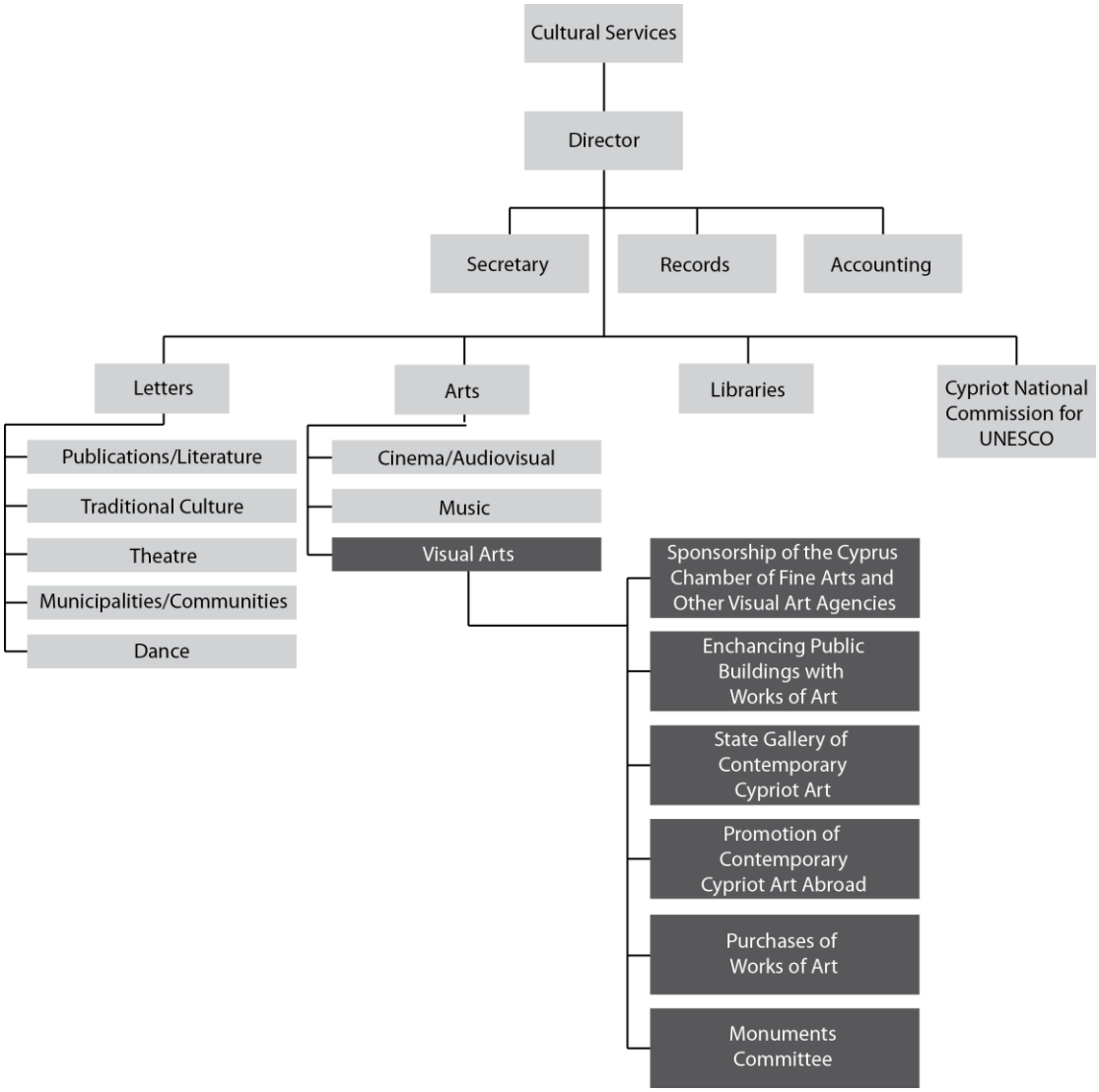


Figure 5: Organisational Structure of the Department of Cultural Services (Department of Cultural Services, 2013)



Within the current structure, the majority (98%) of the Ministry's budget and resources goes to education. For 2014, the budget for the Department of Cultural Services was reduced by a further 25% (Ministry Of Finance, 2014). Similar to the situation in other countries, budgets for the arts and culture are the first to be reduced in times of fiscal hardship. Table 2 below shows that this amount is less than 0,2% of the state's budget.

Table 2: Details of State Expenditure Relevant to the Visual Arts. (Ministry of Finance, 2014)

		2012 (€) Actual expenditure	2013 (€) Appropriated	2014 (€) Appropriated
TOTAL BUDGET		**8.257.831.260**	**9.513.378.945**	**7.712.309.713**
Ministry of Education and Culture		**1.045.150.850**	**966.964.492**	**922.934.666**
Cultural Services		18.068.053	19.984.235	14.819.788
Details of expenditure (visual arts)				
State Art Gallery *		371.098	324.392	273.769
	Government Hourly Paid Staff	93.868	95.022	95.839
	Operating expenses	21.970	***114.960	***77.920
	Maintenance and repairs- Maintenance of Gallery of Ministry of Education and Culture	62.087	64.400	50.000
	Purchase of works of art	193.102	50.000	50.000
Grants to Cultural Agencies and Individuals for Cultural Events **		3.999.501	3.000.000	3.000.000
Development of Visual Arts *		367.792	250.000	213.900
	Cultural Events	367.792	250.000	213.900

* No expenditure may be incurred without the prior written consent of the Parliamentary Committee of Finance and Budgetary Affairs provided that the later has been competently informed.

** 'Grants to Cultural Agencies and Individuals for Cultural Events' include project and travel grants for individual artists and curators from various disciplines, including the visual and applied arts, the performing arts, folk art, theatre, film, literature and music. It also includes grants to local authorities, municipalities, and cultural institutions.

***An amount of €90 000 was added to the budget for the temporary rental of space while the State Art Gallery was moving premises. For 2014 that amount was reduced to €55 800

The Department of Cultural Services allocates funds for the development of the visual arts, literature, music, theatre, dance, cinema, folk art, regional activities, cultural festivals and for the maintenance of cultural institutions and foundations in Cyprus and abroad (Department of Cultural Services, 2012). The cultural officer stated that the department essentially plays the role of a Ministry of Culture but it is comprised of a very small group of fifteen people, trying to implement its own policies, the ministry's policies and the government's policies on culture, with the little resources they are given (AS01, 47-50).

Throughout the years, the department has made numerous efforts to become more independent from the Ministry in order to "liberate its functions from the main structure" (AS01, 151). It operates its own record and accounting system and its director now has the right to approve budgets up to €5000 without the Ministry's intervention (AS01, 147). However, the Parliament's Finance Committee and the Ministry of Education and Culture still make decisions that directly affect its policies and actions; for example, the Parliament's Finance Committee has recently decided that the honorary grant awarded to selected elderly artists with low pensions will no longer be granted (Ministry of Finance, 2014). In reality, the majority of funds, even if approved in the budget, are not released without the final consent of the Treasury (Ministry Of Finance, 2010: 10). A number of participants in this study were strongly of the view that the Department of Cultural Services in Cyprus lacks authority, credibility and independence; firstly, because it is an unequal partner with education– which will always have a much higher political and

spending priority- and secondly, because of the ease by which the state can intervene in their general practices and fund allocations.

The lack of a strong political interest in the arts is evident in the absence of appropriate state institutions that support, display, and consecrate the arts. Each major city has a small municipal art gallery which is managed by the local authority; these galleries may host periodic exhibitions but they primarily exhibit the municipality's collection. The State Gallery, which is located in Nicosia, is managed by the Department of Cultural Services; according to the cultural officer, it therefore lacks the autonomy to develop its own programme and the specialised staff to run it (AS01, 70). In addition, it currently utilises a building with the capacity to display only a small fraction of the state's collection, with most works of art kept in storage. Due to problems arising with the building's regulations, video art and installations cannot be exhibited in the space, inevitably restricting exhibits to more conventional forms of art (AS01, 71-75). These issues, although identified and criticised by cultural officials themselves, are not being dealt with.

Several participants referred to the fact that there is no public museum in Cyprus specialising in contemporary art. A number of visual artists have stated that it is unacceptable for a country not to have a national museum of contemporary art to house, preserve, and exhibit the state's collection (I005, 129-135; I013, 403-405). The officer from the Department of Cultural Services echoed this discontent: "perhaps we are the only country in Europe that does not have a museum of contemporary art" (AS01, 338). She hoped that at some point this will be feasible, but since it would imply a large cost it will probably

not be in the near future (AS01, 335-337). It should be noted that there have been talks for the establishment of a national museum of contemporary art since the 1980s, but no commitments have ever been made.

The Member of Parliament (MP) who, amongst other things, is responsible for Cultural Affairs admitted that "the state has diachronically set different priorities. And culture was always mere rhetoric" (AS10, 72-73). Gordon et al (2004: 51) observed that "political parties in Cyprus [...] do not set out cultural policy objectives, and it is considered normal for most cultural transactions that need to go through the Parliament, to be adopted by consensus without too much dispute", possibly because they are viewed as low priority. Similar to the MP's statement and Gordon et al's observation, the cultural officer maintained that "culture has always been treated as a minor field, as something extra, like a kind of luxury"- and this seems to be reflected in the funding arrangements (AS01, 30-33). Both participants deduced that the arts and culture have never been a priority because the country's political issues have always overshadowed the cultural field.

The difficult financial situation has also weakened the demand and support for the visual arts from the private and non-governmental sectors. In addition, the low level of private funding for the arts may be due to the absence of stimulating legislations on sponsorship and patronage, the absence of a tradition of philanthropic giving and the lack of cooperation between the arts and the business sector. The emergence of careers such as art managers, exhibition curators, art writers, academics, and dealers is also a recent phenomenon, since there have been limited opportunities for professionals in

these fields thus far. For these reasons, individual artists, cultural institutions and local authorities turn to the state for financial support. The next few subsections examine how individual artists and other art professionals share the paternalistic attitude that the support of culture is the state's responsibility.

4.2.3. Policies for Artists: When Theory, Policy and Practice Collide

Cultural policy measures that are explicitly directed toward supporting artists and artistic work are often referred to as 'artist policy'. Heikkinen (2000: 299) asserted that the coverage of the term varies depending on the context within which it is used. In addition to direct financial support, it may include copyright legislation, public support for art institutions employing artists and support for institutions of professional training in the arts; "the term is also used to refer to public policy measures not under the heading of cultural policy, but related to the position of artists, such as regulations within social policy or taxation" (ibid).

In Cyprus, there is no specific cultural policy strategy, but the Department of Cultural Services implements a number of schemes directed towards supporting individual artists. What are the underlying rationales of these particular policies and how do they impact on the mode and extent of support offered to individual artists? The following subsections examine the policies for artists in Cyprus and the related implementation practices. They analyse the financing mechanisms that directly and indirectly support individual artists and consider artists' expectations for such support. From the wide range of cultural policy mechanisms, I will mainly focus on the three

instruments of direct financial support that seemed to be favoured by the state; project and travel grants, commissions and purchases.

Project and Travel Grants for Visual Artists

Individual visual artists living and working in Cyprus are predominantly supported by the state through project and travel grants which finance their various initiatives. These grants are awarded to individual artists and curators from various disciplines, including the visual and applied arts, the performing arts, folk art, theatre, film, literature and music. As indicated by the cultural officer interviewed, there is a common budget for all disciplines which is subdivided according to incoming applications and their needs. Visual artists are invited to send proposals to the Cultural Services for the activities they would like to initiate or participate in, while a committee reviews the applications.

This scheme is legitimated by various instrumental rationales. The application form for individual artists explains how proposals are taken into consideration. The Cultural Services review whether the proposed activities are consistent with the objectives of the program, which are:

- To support individual initiative and creativity which aims at dynamically developing cultural creativity in Cyprus, for the artistic and intellectual world.
- To promote contemporary Cypriot cultural creation abroad.
- To encourage the mobility of artists, of individuals involved in culture, of other cultural professionals, and of artistic work, both within the EU and internationally.
- To highlight the important contribution of culture in the social inclusion of disadvantaged groups (economic migrants, disabled people, minority groups, marginalised, etc.)
- To strengthen the role and participation of Civil Society in the wider cultural scene.

- To develop the creativity of the wider Cypriot public.
- To strengthen bi-communal and inter-cultural dialogue as a means of deepening the process that will lead to mutual understanding and respect.
- To encourage creativity with the use of modern technologies.
- To promote and develop artistic education and initiatives which enhance media literacy.
- To utilise culture as a crucial element of International Relations, and to strengthen cultural relations with our European partners and third countries of the geographical area of Cyprus.

(Department of Cultural Services, 2012: 5).

At least four out of ten objectives encourage the mobility of artists abroad, highlighting the importance of supporting intercultural dialogue and strengthening international relations. On this premise, grants are given to visual artists who participate in residencies and exhibitions abroad, regardless of whether the event is commercial. The cultural officer stated: "We fund anything abroad. Whether it is a biennale, a group exhibition- but for commercial exhibitions in galleries as well; we fund them, but it is something we don't fund here" (AS01, 186- 188). This seems common practice in the context of cultural diplomacy, where public funds may be allocated for commercial projects. In this framework, art can be a medium through which intercultural relations can be shaped. The Institute of Cultural Diplomacy defined this term as "the exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs and other aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering mutual understanding" (Droste, 2006: 145). And this mutual understanding must be based upon a cultural transfer (ibid) made in a universal language that can serve as a cultural bridge. The cultural officer maintained that artists mostly operate as "agents" or as "messengers" of meanings that are important to the society and are able to transfer them to the international field (AS01, 453-454). It is also contended that art can provide a way by which cultural

heritage and identity can be experienced and interpreted. Gordon et al (2004: 55) suggested that projecting a progressive cultural image can help change the external perception that Cyprus is a 'troubled spot'. This 'soft power' was demonstrated during the Cyprus Presidency of the European Union, when visual artists were invited to participate in exhibitions specifically organised within that framework; for example, the exhibition Terra Mediterranea- In Crisis was organised by Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre and the Pierides Foundation under the auspices of the Cyprus Presidency (AS06). It investigated and presented contemporary artists' reflections on the economic, political, religious, and social landscape (characterised as "universal"), looking particularly at the "deeply existential crisis of identity" (NiMAC, 2013: 1); the exhibition brought together artists from various counties to express their views through different visual approaches (ibid). Chapman (2007: 45) noted that the usage of art as a cultural diplomacy tool can take precisely this form in order to raise awareness of different cultures, promote social cohesion and strengthen intercultural relations.

However, Nisbett (2013: 558) asserted that such interpretations of the term do not sufficiently convey that cultural diplomacy is politically charged and potentially 'dangerous'. This raises the questions: are artists supported because they are 'ambassadors' of contemporary Cypriot culture and creativity, 'utilised' to promote the national identity? And, what is the impact of this policy on visual arts practices? It is possible that the main target of this policy is not the cultural act or the artworks produced, but the image projected inwards and outwards. Artists' perspectives and reactions to these rationales are reviewed later in this chapter (p.134).

Other objectives emphasise beliefs related to cultural equality and social equity, linked to welfare policies of individual and cultural participation. According to the document, activities proposed by artists are seen favourably if they highlight the contribution of culture in the social inclusion of disadvantaged groups, if they strengthen the role and participation of civil society and if they encourage creativity amongst the wider Cypriot public. These policies appear to have instrumental and utilitarian undertones, heavily weighted by the practical outcomes they potentially deliver. Should artists be charged with the task of strengthening international relations and bringing about social equality? As Belfiore (2002: 104) argued, if cultural policy could conjugate with foreign affair strategies and social policies, and art provision could be easily absorbed within existing schemes, there would be no point in having a cultural policy at all.

Nevertheless, in most welfare states, public support for the arts has been legitimated by various rationales, the majority of which are based on their instrumental value to society. Belfiore (2002: 92) maintained that there is a "shift towards an instrumental cultural policy which justifies public expenditure in the arts on the grounds of the advantages that they bring to the nation (be they economic, social, related to urban regeneration, employment, etc.)". In the United Kingdom, during the New Labour years, for example, public funding bodies for the arts justified their spending "in terms of an 'investment' which brings about positive social change and contributes to alleviate social exclusion in disadvantaged areas of the country" (ibid: 103).

In France, like in Finland and Norway, culture was perceived as a source of strengthening identity. Therefore, cultural policy was designed with the aim of producing and maintaining the national identity (de Waresquiel, 2001 cited in Ratiu, 2009: 27). Abbing (2002: 207) noted that in a democratic society, in order to receive public subsidy, one must effectively argue that their contribution will serve the general public. This is a prerequisite for subsidisation (ibid). Very few policies consider art as a value in itself, and state support is seldom legitimated with arguments based on the intrinsic value of the arts.

Despite the instrumental connotations identified in policy documents, the individuals working in the Department of Cultural Services and in the cultural offices of regional authorities describe their role as assistential to the arts and to artists. There is a noticeable consensus amongst cultural officers, both state and regional, that artists need to be financially supported in their creative endeavours. They believe that the funding mechanisms they implement compensate for the limited opportunities the Cypriot domestic market has to offer. For example, instead of considering residency programmes as opportunities that encourage intercultural dialogue, they portrayed them as opportunities for artists to come in contact with other artist-communities, curators, critics and museum directors, in the hope that it will lead them to future collaborations and enhance their career development (AS01, 353). The cultural officer stated that these subsidies are important because “there isn’t another funding body which can financially support these efforts. The funding is usually very limited, or it is in kind” (AS01, 395). Despite the instrumental connotations located in their policy documents, the Department of Cultural

Services in Cyprus assumes the role of a patron, a benefactor of the arts and artists, which uses direct financial support as its main instrument. The findings of the current study are consistent with those of Ratiu (2007: 35) whose work examined cultural policy in Romania. These conflicting practices can be observed in most funding schemes for the arts in Cyprus, including the acquisition of art works, artists' pensions and the 'one percent for art' programme.

Acquisition of Art Works for the State Collection

Another example of direct support to visual artists in Cyprus is the programme for acquisitions of works of art. The state collection, which is comprised of about three thousand artworks, predominantly consists of work by Cypriot artists (AS01, 242-243). Based on the regulations in effect, an independent acquisition committee visits art galleries and artists' studios to make recommendations for the acquisition of artworks. The committee is comprised of art historians, art inspectors, architects and artists selected by the state (AS01, 275). The policy documents illustrate a subtle shift to this mode of support over the last 10 years. Until 2010 the document read:

> Being aware of the necessity to encourage artistic creation and to establish a representative collection that would trace the course of the Cypriot art from the beginning of the century up to the present day, the Cultural Services have bought representative works of Cypriot artists. (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010: 370).

The premise for purchasing works of art had been twofold: firstly, they acknowledged that Cypriot artists had limited opportunities to earn an income from the domestic market and this form of support was seen as a way of compensating for that circumstance; secondly, they recognised the role that

the arts and artists play in the construction of a national identity. They believed that by acquiring representative works of art, they would be able to record that development. Through these acquisitions, the state was able to financially support artistic production while building the state collection.

Sir Nicholas Serota (2003: 52), art historian, curator and director of the Tate since 1988, considered the role that national collections play in the recognition of artists and the formation of taste: “I think that the collections, if they are doing their job, will establish taste. There are plenty of examples going back to the nineteenth century that demonstrate how the National Gallery established taste [...] You could say the same is true of the Tate at certain moments, for example when it collected minimal art in the 1970s” (ibid). Robertson (2005: 95) contended that in some collections, there is a presumed bias in favour of particular styles of art which considerably influences the art market. Public support, especially through this mechanism, often becomes “a sign of quality and artistic recognition” and public authorities “gain much power in the process of defining art, artist, and artistic quality" (Heikkinen, 1999: 24). So theoretically, the support that artists receive from public authorities in Cyprus becomes a seal of recognition of their work. But is the state mindful of this power and responsibility?

In 2011, the policy was slightly revised, and although the form of support remained the same, its focus became somewhat clearer:

> With the aim of encouraging artistic creativity and building a representative collection through which to present the course of Cypriot art from the beginning of the previous century to the present, the Cultural Services purchase important works by Cypriot artists. (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 401)

It seems that the Department of Cultural Services has taken a more proactive role, one that encourages 'artistic creativity' rather than 'artistic creation'. Instead of compensating for the limited prospects of the art market, public support is utilised to safeguard and counterbalance the pressures of commercial markets. At least this is what the policy document suggests. They have also introduced a qualitative criterion to their purchases, a value measurement which until then had not been stated. Their aim now is to collect 'important works' of Cypriot artists; but what does the term 'important' refer to? It is not explicitly defined in their report. Equally contentious is an added sentence stating that the recommendations for the acquisitions of artworks are "based on criteria such as the artistic quality of the proposed projects and the significance of the project in terms of documenting Cypriot art-trends" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 402). How is artistic quality defined and measured? Is the term 'project' used as a replacement for 'artwork'? Does this signify the broader range of art forms considered by the committee? None of these documents detail the array of art forms which could be included under the rubric of the visual arts. The root of the issue, examined in the literature review and in the following chapter, is the inability to accurately define the contours of the visual arts discipline. The cultural officer affirmed that the visual arts "could be a great variety of things, especially nowadays. [...] Very often they are interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary or even an activity. Things aren't simple anymore" (AS01, 467-470). Presumably, the experts in the field of visual arts, invited to participate in the committee based on "their training in the specific art form, their awareness of contemporary Cypriot art, and also their knowledge of the history of Cypriot art", know how to select artworks of 'significance to art history', and which are of 'high artistic quality'

(AS01, 271-273). But the Department of Cultural Services does not apply an administrative definition of these terms.

At a first glance, it seems that this policy is moving more towards the elitist approach. However, there still seems to be a consensus that the artists, as well as the rest of the sector, should be supported- equally. A number of visual artists interviewed were convinced that the Cultural Services "buy from everyone" (I009, 118-120; I002, 179-181). So even from early on in their careers, artists rely on the fact that at least one piece of their work will be purchased by the state as a form of financial assistance or recognition. In addition, instead of purchasing artworks from artists' studios, "the committee will visit galleries and will buy artwork from galleries. This has to do with supporting artists but also supporting galleries" (AS01). To further justify the premise of this support, the cultural officer elaborated:

> "[S]urely, we are a country which does not have a large art market, like other places, so for many galleries a potential purchase by the Ministry of Education and Culture is important; although, in our opinion, it shouldn't work this way. But we are adapting to a reality which exists. I wish that purchasing works of art would work on a different basis" (AS01, 279-284).

This implies that decisions for purchases are not based solely on artistic quality or with the aim of building a collection that is representative of the development of visual arts in Cyprus; instead, decisions seem to be made based on the democratic belief that all artists deserve some financial support in their creative endeavours. Despite their efforts to modify the policy, the traditional egalitarian notions still have a hegemonic position in the present implementation of cultural policy.

The policies carried out by local authorities are also deeply rooted in welfare ideals. For example, the municipal collection of Larnaka currently consists of about 400 artworks; the cultural officer responsible for the municipal gallery stated that many of them have been donated to the municipality by artists, either as a gesture of appreciation for exhibiting their work in their gallery or in lieu of payment. The municipality also has an acquisition policy which, as the cultural officer admitted, has a charitable character: "We buy some artworks which we are interested in, and we also buy to promote some young artists, in the beginning, who seem to be active [...]. There is a selection but we mostly do it for charity" (AS04, 114-115). She explained that the municipality predominantly buys artworks in an effort to support artists' fiscal position. She went on to say: "It may not be the best painting but we need to do it. We don't do it to get the top artists. If only we were able to say that this year we will only buy two; but because the municipality needs to promote culture [...]" (AS04, 115-117). The sentence remains incomplete but it is possible to deduce that her argument leans towards objectives linked to welfare policy and social support. This perspective seems to resonate across all levels of government, at least regarding the policy for the acquisition of artworks and as examined earlier, the grant scheme.

Artists' Pensions

The practice of awarding state pensions to individual artists was among the first forms of public support for the arts in a number of welfare states. Artists' pensions in Finland are perhaps the most illustrative examples of such policy. Their history dates back to the 1830s, when artist-pensions were essentially working grants allocated only to renowned artists of national importance,

irrespective of age. Still, they were considered pensions because they were awarded by the state to artists for the entirety of their lives. They kept their grant-like status until the 1960s when it was suggested that the focus of these pensions should be shifted in order to support older artists who lived under very poor conditions. Mertanen (2012: 47) explained that in 1974 "the Council of State announced the 'Decision on Extraordinary Artists' Pensions', in which the regulations for supplementary pensions for senior artists were set for the first time". According to the statute, "recipients are selected on the basis of artistic merit", and the amount awarded is determined by the recipient's financial situation (ibid: 48). A similar scheme was introduced in Sweden; pension grants (*pensionsbidrag*) are awarded to retired artists "on the basis of the quality and range of earlier artistic activity, and the need for financial aid" (Heikkinen, 2003: 113). The objectives of these schemes differ from other forms of support for artists since their purpose is not to promote the artistic endeavours of active artists but reward, in a way, artistic achievements of the past.

In Cyprus there was a similar selection of grants awarded to senior artists. After the events of 1974, the state deemed appropriate to financially support artists who lived under conditions of hardship, especially refugee artists. The scheme slowly evolved and until 2013, there had been two types of pension schemes- an annual honorary grant of €2600, and a monthly grant of €515. As indicated by the cultural officer interviewed, the first was a symbolic amount given to distinguished artists who had significantly contributed to the cultural life of the country. The second was awarded to those who were believed to have serious financial difficulties (AS01, 225-228). These pensions were

awarded to artists from several disciplines and were supplementary to the minimum pension received by individuals upon retirement. About 118 individuals received the grant in 2012; it had been awarded "for obvious reasons" which are "to support people who might have devoted their whole lives to culture but because usually these professions aren't regulated, these people don't have a pension to be able to live comfortably, so they end up elderly without being able to live decently" (AS01, 232-235). A visual artist interviewed echoed this opinion- that these honorary pensions help elderly artists live "a life with dignity" (I005, 412). From artists' point of view, the need for special pensions for artists stems from issues related to their social insurance contributions (I005, 398), which are discussed in depth later in this chapter (p.148). Both statements reverberate the social welfare stance taken by the Cultural Services in Cyprus, which was also evident in the policies examined earlier.

Under a recent review of the scheme, it was determined that there were no suitable procedures within the Department of Cultural Services to establish financial hardship. The cultural officer admitted that the department does not have the necessary mechanisms to determine the financial situation of individuals and it has been challenged on the legitimacy of its initiative by the central government (AS01, 227-230). As a result, these grants were stopped in 2014, pending review, until appropriate mechanisms are put into place by which to determine if beneficiaries fulfil the financial and artistic criteria. A number of artists have expressed their anguish through numerous media outlets, and artists' associations have contacted the authorities on numerous occasions with letters of discontent about the subject.

The suspension of this scheme is a result of the unresolved issues relating to cultural policy design and implementation. Similar issues were raised about the 'Percent for Art' scheme that will be discussed next. State support has been ad hoc and as a result, it lacks specific legitimisation and suitable procedures. The absence of appropriate mechanisms to evaluate cultural policy instruments, compounded by the limited research in this area, may be detrimental to future policy development.

Commissions Under 'One Percent for Art'

'Percent for art' is a piece of legislation adopted in a number of countries with the general aim to enhance cultural participation while fostering, promoting and advancing the arts. The percentage amongst them varies from 1% to 2%. The scheme requires governments to ensure that a proportion of the funds spent on the construction, renovation or extension of local or national public buildings is reserved for the creation of works of art conceived for the specific buildings. In France, the scheme was initiated in the fifties by the central government and was historically associated with the visual arts. Its aim was to "provide 'decoration' through the incorporation of art into architecture", to enrich the environment of these public spaces (Lydiate, 1982). Adapting to the changing climate, the scheme now invites artists from a range of arts disciplines; it allows for the use of new technologies and other artistic interventions, including the development of landscaped areas or the design of original furniture (Legifrance, 2010). Similarly, in the Netherlands, the integration of art in state buildings has been an element of government policy from the beginning of the nineteenth century but the policy was only formally enforced in the fifties. As a result of this scheme, thousands of artworks have

been commissioned, employing a number of artists throughout the years (Government of the Netherlands, 2005: 3). In Denmark and Norway, the responsibility for the scheme is delegated by the state to cultural foundations while in the United Kingdom, Spain and the United States, the policy is at the discretion of regional and municipal authorities and not implemented nationally (ibid).

In Cyprus, the law was first imposed in 1992 and aimed at enriching public buildings with works of art while offering support and professional opportunities for artists (CYLaw, 2009: 1). However, there had been strong criticisms by artists of the lack of response to the initiative by regional and local authorities. After various issues being raised regarding the implementation of the law, it was reviewed and replaced in 2009; it essentially retained its initial objectives but its legal framework was improved in order to safeguard its procedures. According to the current document, an open competition is announced and artworks are selected by an independent committee comprised of an individual from the organising institution who serves as the president, the architect of the building, one expert from the field of visual art and two representatives from artists' associations (ibid). The cultural officer supported that the procedures are transparent and operate at arm's length from the state (AS01).

In their majority, visual artists interviewed have referred to this legislation as a major achievement. They were able to advocate for the establishment of this law through their associations which consequently validated their status in cultural policy debates. Furthermore, visual artists asserted that public

commissions allow them the opportunity to create works of art which would otherwise not be financially feasible. There are similarities between the attitudes expressed by artists in this study and those described by Karreman and Schulze (2007: 7); they asserted that "these public commissions not only provide incentive for the artistic development of the artists, but also give them the opportunity to realise works of art on a professional level, with a good production budget".

However, a number of participants commissioned to create artworks under this scheme maintained that there are still issues to be resolved. One of them supported that many competitions do not lead to commissions, either due to the absence of funding or the lack of commitment to the project. Others contended that even with the new procedures there appear to be signs of favouritism. Whether substantiated or not, artists have stated that the perception of partiality dispels many of them from competing. These assertions caused me to consider whether the mechanisms through which this policy is delivered are clearly articulated.

In the document, a work of art is defined as "any object in any form of visual art which is created by a citizen of the Republic or a citizen of another European country" (CYLaw, 2009: 1). This definition seems vague and all-encompassing. At the outset, the term 'visual arts' could be further explained, given that the Department of Cultural Services have not set any parameters for its definition. For example, could video art or a sound installation be commissioned? It is also observed that there is no reference to the visual artist. This is because the legislation does not mandate that the work of art

commissioned or purchased must be created by an artist (I019, 269). In comparison, the French legislation regarding the 'Percent for art' scheme states that the committee must "commission or purchase one or several works of art by one or more living artists" (Legifrance, 2010: 3). This legislation places special emphasis on funding projects which support current visual arts practices. The ambiguities identified in the other legislative document raises the following concerns regarding the integrity of the selection process: are policy-makers in Cyprus making a conscious effort to avoid discriminating *in favour* of artists? Presumably, the selection committee, which includes delegates from two different visual artists' associations, ensures that artists' interests are represented. Are there still biases in this process?

The sympathy expressed by cultural officers towards the situation of visual artists is positive but also alarming. Through its policies and actions the state affects the production, distribution, and reception of artworks and has a profound impact on individual artists as they pursue their visual arts practice. However, policies and actions appear to be two very different things. Policy is not only guided by conflicting rationales, but policy design and implementation seem to diverge, with repercussions for artists as well as the system. In the following subsection, I examine visual artists' perceptions of these policy mechanisms.

4.2.4. Visual Artists' Perspectives on Policy

Since there is very little funding from the private and non-governmental sector, and the current financial situation has further weakened the demand and support for the visual arts, individual artists (but also cultural organisations, artist's associations and local authorities) turn to the state for financial support.

Until recently, visual artists in Cyprus have had to travel to educational institutions abroad in order to obtain an education in the arts, as there has been no tradition of art academies on the island. Still, the majority of visual artists interviewed returned to Cyprus soon after their studies, with the exception of four artists who had stayed abroad for longer. Concurrently, while back in their home environment, they maintain professional links abroad and continue to participate in further training programmes, conferences, residencies and international exhibitions. The findings of this study suggest that the time Cypriot artists spend abroad is pivotal in the development of their expectations from public authorities. They seem to be convinced that the support systems in other countries offer a better advancement to artists than the system in Cyprus. Artists drew on their experiences from various countries to support their claims.

For example, after spending some time in Finland collaborating on a project with a number of Finnish artists, a young Cypriot artist became adamant that the funding schemes for visual artists in Finland were exemplary. In the process of explaining her experience, she became increasingly critical of the situation in Cyprus and constantly compared it with her impressions of the

country she had been. Later, she maintained that "in all other European countries there is [...] a sponsorship they give to young artists, a small budget or even studios [.] with a very low rent of 30 euro a month, in order to produce work and they give them a small allowance as well. In Cyprus there is no such thing" (I009, 357-360). She had been told that visual artists in Finland received an annual grant which allowed them to work on their artistic practice full time; in exchange, each year, an assigned committee would obtain a specific amount of artworks for the state collection; "and you can survive, simple" (I009, 384-388). But is it that simple?

A more focused look at some of the policy mechanisms implemented in Finland seems contradictory to the anecdotal recollection of the artist. Mechanisms that support individual artists have historically been associated with Finland's formation as an independent country and its development as a welfare state. Kangas (2001: 60) supported the idea that art was considered to be an "instrument at the state's disposal for moulding its citizenry into a national community" and grants for creative artists such as writers, visual artists and composers, helped to create "national artists". Long-term (15-year) grants for 'accomplished' artists with meritorious careers were introduced in 1982, while short-term (1-5 year) grants were set up later with the aim to support established artists without employment contracts and young artists starting their career (Heikkinen, 2003: 44). This system of working grants towards individual artists is complemented by a system of project grants and travel grants, awarded with similar criteria. These grants, which have largely remained unaltered, have similar characteristics to the subsidies described by the visual artist.

However, it has been estimated that only 3% of Finnish artists work as grantees at any given time; this figure is not specific to the visual arts- it encompasses artists from the fields of literature and music as well (Karhunen, 2012: 6). In this respect, working grants are very limited. Procuring such a grant is not as 'simple' as the artist assumes; it is rather the opposite. Investigating the impact of these types of grants, which are awarded to 'accomplished' artists, Abbing (2002: 136) explained that such grants directly affect the income distribution amongst artists, which inevitably becomes skewed in favour of the few. He also noted that grants potentially increase levels of poverty amongst artists because more artists become inclined to pursue a career in this field, with the assumption that they will receive financial assistance. The findings of this study suggest that artists appear to idealise the situation in other countries, but their information is often embellished, inaccurate or incomplete. They also seem to overlook the background, the premise and the impact of these grants.

Research has shown that visual artists are generally perplexed by the rationales that underlie policy mechanisms. Some artists believe that public authorities in Cyprus discriminate in favour of a selected few, who are supported and promoted more than others (I003, 414-415). Since many policy decisions seem to have been based on the egalitarian rationale of cultural democracy and the social welfare paradigm that recognises artists' need for some financial support, a number of artists have come to rely on and expect the 'endowment' of public authorities. They are contentious of policies based on elitist principles because they believe that such decisions are discriminatory, flawed, and ineffective. Conversely, others maintained that

public authorities are not selective enough in their allocation of funds, claiming that they "do not care about quality at all" (I019, 268) and that they "buy [works of art] from everyone" (I009, 118-120; I002, 179-181). Heikkinen (1999: 25) emphasised that "the transformation of money into recognition is not possible if the criteria for distributing financial support are based on economic and social considerations and not solely on artistic quality". Artists were equally critical of policies based on these egalitarian principles because they believe that there is no reputational value beyond the monetary reward. They maintained that a distinction should be drawn between professional artists and amateurs, and between visual artists who work exclusively on their artistic practice and those who have secondary occupations. They also noted that the absence of an administrative definition of the professional visual artist denotes a lack of professional recognition by the state (I001, 88-96; I019, 165-168). These conflicting assertions suggest that both the visual artists and the cultural officers are stuck in a dilemma between the egalitarian and elitist principles.

Despite their opinions and reactions to existing policy mechanisms, a number of visual artists apply for and receive grants for artistic activities they may organise or participate in and seek to obtain commissions from the state. Several of them explained how they tailor their applications to complement the requirements set out by public authorities in order to procure funding for their projects. They recognise the political intent that exists, and accept that instrumentalism is part of policy-making. However, artists only tangentially engage with the politics and the imperatives of these policies. It seems that the ambiguity between policy design and implementation allows for opportunistic

behaviour that is disconnected from the broader political landscape. A number of artists maintained that they need to adjust to, and take advantage of, the current situation because they are unable to change it. They are generally not involved in the process of formulating and developing these policies, and are rarely given opportunities to convey their needs and leverage decisions concerning their own conditions. The findings of the study show that although the artists interviewed perceive existing policy mechanisms as impractical and nonsensical, they conform and adapt with them in an effort to achieve their personal objectives.

The incoherency identified between policy design and implementation causes ambivalence in the state's abilities to appraise the outcomes of visual artists' projects, which are often detached from instrumental beliefs and disengaged from political agendas. In addition, the funding instruments are unable to promote their career longevity and development, since they provide interim support for ephemeral projects. They are also not intended to contribute to the improvement of artists' status, which does not reflect their expectations. The findings suggest that there is a dichotomy between the funding mechanisms implemented by the state and visual artists' understanding of their objectives that seems to be precipitated by a communication gap created by the two parties. It seems that neither the public authorities nor the visual artists supported by them are able to realise their objectives effectively. Would indirect support for the arts be more relevant to artists' demands?

4.2.5. Indirect Forms of Support for Artists

Indirect measures complement, and in some cases, replace, direct monetary contributions for the arts. The United States, Canada, Australia, and most countries in Western Europe utilise these measures, some more than others. Indirect systems of support tend to focus on artists' professional environment, their professional advancement or on developing a commercial market for their products. Some examples of indirect state support for artists are the encouragement of corporate and private sponsorships and purchases through tax incentives or low interest loans; the support for institutions promoting artists; the control of studios with low rent; the provision of health care benefits; the creation of posts for artists on advisory panels and expert committees; and the implementation of special social security and income averaging schemes (McCarthy and Ondaatje, 2005: 112). In Cyprus, the impact of indirect support for the arts, and specifically for visual artists, is very small. Nonetheless, participants of this study suggested that these forms of support may be more valuable to the development of their visual arts practice.

Stimulating Legislations for the Arts

There are inherent difficulties in procuring comparable data of combined public spending for the arts, stemming from the disparity of meanings conferred to the term 'arts expenditure' and the variety of funding mechanisms utilised. For example, if direct public expenditure for the arts in the United States was compared to direct funding for the arts in Finland, the United States would undoubtedly be considered parsimonious, while Finland would appear to be overgenerous in its spending (Heilbrun and Gray, 2001:

14). But in contrast to Finland, the United States have a variety of taxation laws which either encourage corporate and private donations towards the arts by allowing deductions in taxable income, or by offering concessions on income and property tax to museums and art centres (Alexander and Rueschemeyer, 2005: 23). Their contribution to the arts through indirect measures brings them much closer to the level of support in other Western countries, although it is still lower in comparison to the Nordic countries, Germany and France (Frey, 2010: 390). In the past ten years, Finland has also emphasised the importance of indirect support for the arts, in an effort to increase demand for works of art and develop systems of social security and taxation more appropriate to artistic occupations. These measures are still viewed as complementary to their direct contributions. The United Kingdom is moving more towards the liberal model and has already significantly reduced public spending in the visual arts; however, in contrast to the United States, the United Kingdom has not had "a strong tradition, or state encouragement, of private philanthropy" (Alexander and Rueschemeyer, 2005: 17). Until recently, the dominant mode of support encouraged by the state had been corporate sponsorship (Alexander, 2007: 187). *Catalyst* is a publicly-funded, private-giving investment scheme, aimed at helping cultural organisations diversify their income streams and access more funding from private sources (Arts Council England, 2013). To ensure this, the scheme includes fundraising and philanthropy training for their National Portfolio Organisations, apprenticeships, coaching and digital skills development (ibid). Still, private and corporate philanthropy is encouraged through cultural institutions and arts organisations rather than through tax incentives. How do these mechanisms support individual visual artists?

Tax exemptions or reductions, offered in other countries, are designed to "encourage the production and consumption of goods or services whose social value is thought to exceed their market value" (King, 2013: 19). Bakija (2013: 558) maintained that tax policies, particularly in the United States, "increase the incentive to donate to charity among those who itemise their deductions". It is presumed that the availability of tax incentives for the arts leads to economic activity that otherwise would not have occurred. This is positive for arts organisations with a charitable status. King's (2013: 22) study acknowledged that, in addition to stimulating the local artworld and encouraging private purchases of works of art, these incentives for charitable giving have special financial merit for public funds. He noted that through tax incentives, taxpayer support is triggered only where individuals choose to donate to arts institutions directly. A specific example illustrates how "€100 of nonmarket support to a performing arts organisation via private donations has been costing Irish taxpayers at most €41 (and in future will, under changes introduced in the December 2013 budget cost only €31), whereas channelled through the budget to an Arts Council it costs €100, plus administrative costs" (ibid). Still, a number of studies used the term 'tax expenditures' to emphasise the fact that these policies reduce the public finance available for other public expenditures, and are hence a similar burden on the taxpayer. While this indirect form of support is considered more 'democratic' because it allows individuals to implicitly express their opinions through private donations, foregoing government earnings essentially reduces the general revenue of the country (Alexander and Rueschemeyer, 2005: 194).

Frey (2010: 390) discussed another element in favour of indirect public support through tax incentives. He asserted that in the case of direct expenditure, decisions regarding the recipients supported and the extent of support offered, are taken in the political sector; they are hence solely dependent on, and potentially censored by, political actors and public officials. Conversely, indirect aid may be "less subject to such pressures and may bring about the support of a broader range of artistic activities" (ibid). Nonetheless, private donations benefit not-for-profit organisations and cultural institutions directly rather than individual artists or artist groups. The tax structure in many countries provides little incentive for this kind of contribution. Alexander (2007: 194) asserted that in the United Kingdom, most funding is still indirect, "with artists benefiting only if they work with funded organisations". Similarly, in Quebec, a province in Canada, most private donations are contributed directly to arts and cultural organisations which may, in turn, support individual artists (Andrew; 2008: 73). It is affirmed that a small number of philanthropists have started their own grant initiatives to directly support individual creation, but their programs are very specific to the types of artistic content supported and are hence still only available to a small number of artists (ibid: 74).

In the absence of strong tax incentives, the Arts Council of England implements an interest-free loan scheme called 'Own Art'; the scheme provides from £100 (€120) up to £2,000 (€2,500) of credit through a national network of galleries to any individual interested in purchasing original works of art. Modelled on the Arts Council of England's 'Own Art' scheme, the Tasmania Government has launched a similar programme called 'Collect Art

Purchase Scheme' providing interest-free loans from £400 (€500) up to £4,000 (€5,000). Both initiatives aim at stimulating the market for living artists and at normalising the process of buying original artworks (Challis, 2009). The Arts Council of England reported that in the first years of its implementation, more than 2 600 individuals drew on the scheme, 29% of which were first-time buyers of contemporary art, for purchases worth more than £2 million (€2,5 million) (Arts Council England, 2006: 14). In the first seven months after the 'Collect Art Purchase Scheme' was launched, 103 loans were issued for the purchase of 113 artworks, exceeding the state's expectations. However, as Alexander (2007: 194) observed, even though artists may indirectly benefit from the attention, this form of support focuses on organisations. She asserted that "the program is considered to be under the rubric of the 'Creative Economy', and art dealers, rather than artists, are its chief target"; since only artists represented by registered galleries can sell their works this way, "the scheme highlights the need for artists to have infrastructure" (ibid).

The 'infrastructure' mentioned by Alexander (2007: 194) in her study on the state support of artists in the United Kingdom is comparable to the notion of a 'creative infrastructure', discussed in Galligan and Cherbo's (2004: 3) article on the financial support for individual artists in the United States. As previously mentioned, the term refers to public and private policies and practices that directly, or indirectly, aid or hinder, the development of artists and artistic activity. It is specifically associated with the regulatory system for artists, the opportunities for training and professional development, the arts and cultural service associations as well as the museums and galleries which

exhibit and promote their work. In their majority, visual artists interviewed focused on the absence of an appropriate infrastructure that supports their activities; this raises the question of how would artists benefit from these indirect measures of state support without this 'infrastructure'? Their negative view of their situation is heightened by their perception that there are better models abroad which are not being explored- comparable to the ones discussed in this subsection and the ones that follow.

Remuneration for Exhibition of Works of Art

A number of visual artists believe that they should be entitled to financially benefit from the public exhibition of their work, like composers would if their music was played in a public building. For instance, visual artists were invited to participate in various exhibitions during the Cyprus Presidency of the European Union (July to December 2012). These exhibitions were organised by municipalities, exhibition centres and cultural institutions to showcase contemporary Cypriot art. For these occasions, visual artists were asked to lend their artworks for the duration of the exhibition without being remunerated for the transaction. Several artists contended that they should have been financially compensated. One visual artist, who was invited to participate in four different exhibitions, explained:

> "They all told me there isn't budget for the production of the pieces. Because the ministry said we don't do new productions. All the artworks being exhibited will be pieces artists already have. In order for me to take the artworks out of storage I need to bring people in, I need to bring a forklift, I need to bring a technician- they will be paid [...] the artist is not paid for his time". (I019, 246-256)

According to the artist, neither the costs incurred for the creation of the artwork, nor the time spent creating the piece are considered when artists are invited to participate in exhibitions which do not have a commercial intent. Visual artists may gain publicity and visibility from these exhibitions but point out that if they are providing works on loan for public exhibition, they do not have the opportunity to sell those works. Visual artists were critical of the fact that exhibition technicians, insurers of works of art, event photographers and caterers are not expected to work unremunerated and yet artists rarely receive compensation for their contribution to such exhibitions. They claimed that the 'invisible work' they do in connection with exhibitions such as planning, meetings, transportation, hanging, catalogue work and public relations, is often overlooked. This exhibition practice inadvertently condones a reputation economy. Several artists considered this to be deeply damaging to the artistic profession. However, is it not this form of capital they use to leverage monetary and non monetary rewards?

The debate on whether artists should be remunerated when their work is displayed in public has been ongoing for several decades. The principle underlying the obligation of such payments was based on the artist's right to benefit from the public exhibition of their work, comparable to performing rights for theatrical or musical works paid to the author and the composer. The motion accepted by the Congress of the International Association of Art at Baghdad in 1976 stated:

> "Works by living artists exhibited in or on public buildings, galleries, museums and other public sites, and which continue thereby to provide a service to the public, should be subject to a continuing form of remuneration to their creator,

> so long as he or she is alive and the work continues to be a public amenity" (Lydiate, 1978).

A number of Arts Councils have subscribed to this principle. Under certain conditions, in Sweden, Canada and Australia, each time an artistic work is exhibited, its creator is entitled to a royalty (KRO/KIF, 2009). In Canada, this 'exhibition right', is "an integral part of copyright that can be exercised like any of the other economic rights set out in the Copyright Act" (Noel, 1990: 6). Similarly, the Australian Council affirmed the principle that "artists should be remunerated for their work and earn income from copyright and royalties", and acknowledged that "underpayment and non-payment affects artists' incomes and career sustainability" (Australia Arts Council, 2013). On this premise, the Council "expects that artists professionally employed or engaged on Australia Council-funded activities will be remunerated for their work" (ibid). The National Association for the Visual Arts in Australia (NAVA, 2012) believes that "the payment of artists' fees is one of industrial fairness. Like other occupations, artists deserve fair pay for the work they undertake, including the cost of their time" (ibid). The public display right is meant to ensure that artists are compensated for the 'invisible work' they do in relation to exhibitions and that they are remunerated for their labour in producing their artwork. However, it is uncertain whether these practices are followed.

In 2009, the Swedish government adopted a new accord, the MU Standard agreement, to try and ensure remuneration to artists for the display of their work. This 'Participation and Exhibition Remuneration Agreement', indicates the minimum financial compensation for which organisers of exhibitions are liable and regulates the artist's right to remuneration for the work they do

prior to, during and after an exhibition. An interesting clause in this agreement, which differs from similar accords, is that "exhibition remuneration is compulsory and cannot be obviated through a private agreement between the organiser and the artist" (KRO/KIF, 2009). The application of the agreement is continuously assessed; proposals have been made for further information measures and minor revisions to its clauses but it is estimated to work well (Arts Council Sweden, 2013).

In Cyprus, there is no act stressing the importance of such payments to artists. Contrary to the principle aforementioned, several participants stated that when their work is sold to public authorities, they are persuaded to sign a waiver agreement relinquishing these exhibition rights. They agree to this under the assumption that if they do not, their work will not be displayed in subsequent exhibitions and images of the work will not be printed in any of their publications. Arguably, since the remuneration of artists is not enforced by the state as a prerequisite for funding, exhibition organisers consider participation and exhibition payments to artists to be outside their regular budget; it follows that since payments to artists are not viewed as an equally natural outlay as other costs, exhibitors would rather display work whose exhibition rights are waived rather than remunerate an artist to exhibit their piece. A number of artists are critical of the situation and view the current arrangement as an infringement of their rights. Still, in their majority, the artists interviewed seem to be inactive about the issue and accept this method of operation inertly.

4.2.6. The Regulatory System for Artists

> "[W]e don't belong to an *a priori* structured space, where even the simplest elements, like social insurance, pensions, insurances etc [exist] [...] you can see this very well in two services, which are the social insurance program and taxation. You will see that there is no artist (I001, 88-96).

This is a characteristic quote by one visual artist interviewed; the majority of the participants shared the view that the administrative and legal provisions in Cyprus are unsuitable for artistic occupations. No special provisions are expressed in the social security and taxation systems. As an extension of the general administrative and legal system, visual artists expressed their discontent with the system in Cyprus, for lacking the mechanisms that would allow individual visual artists to make social security payments as artists.

However, this issue is not specific to Cypriot visual artists; it is a subject discussed in reference to the status of the artist in a number of other studies (Bain, 2005; Cliche, 1996; ERICarts, 2006). Bain (2005: 34) maintained that "unlike other highly regulated professions, such as law, medicine, architecture, or engineering, where degrees and licences are conferred on practitioners to authenticate and legalise their occupational status, in the arts there are no official prerequisites or credentials to distinguish artists from non-artists, professionals from amateurs". The difficulty of this distinction is evident in the analysis of the ontological dimensions of visual artists in the next chapter. A number of artists argued that the lack of professional recognition means that they enjoy few of the rewards and privileges of the welfare state (I001, 88-96; I019, 165-168). It is important to note that most artists expressing this anxiety work exclusively as independent visual practitioners; visual artists who teach seemed to be less concerned with this

issue as they have access to social security benefits through their other form of employment (I002, 337-339). The former believe that their occupational characteristics are unique and that they deserve the analogous attention. Do visual artists warrant special policy provisions?

The following chapter analyses the idiosyncrasies of individual artistic practice but it is important to briefly discuss visual artists' labour market behaviour at this point as well. Firstly, income generated through their practice is highly irregular which, as they have asserted, presents difficulties in the calculation of 'monthly earnings' for their social insurance contributions (I019, 174-175). Secondly, "financial rewards to professional artistic practice are generally lower than in other occupations with otherwise similar characteristics" (Throsby, 2010: 80). Still, earlier observations showed that visual artists' commitment to making art "means that they have a positive preference for working at their chosen profession" and often "forgo lucrative alternative employment in order to spend more time pursuing their creative work" (ibid: 81). This implies that visual artists will continue to create works of art, even if what they produce is not financially profitable (I022, 212-218). The third aspect that distinguishes visual artists from others in the labour force is related to the ambiguity in their employment status. The findings of the current study are consistent with Throsby's observations that as a result of low incomes in the arts, many artists choose to serve both the arts and the arts-related labour market; this denotes that in the same period of time, artists may be both self-employed and employed. Furthermore, their work patterns may involve periods of time when unremunerated research and artistic experimentation is undertaken; during this time they are essentially

unemployed since they do not receive any income, but they would not qualify for unemployment benefits since they are not actively seeking work.

So it is possible that if the peculiarities of individual artistic practice are acknowledged in the social security and taxation system, artists would operate better in the regulatory system. A number of visual artists raise examples of corresponding systems in other European countries, such as France and Germany, as better alternatives to the existing system.

In France, there is a special social security scheme for visual artists, which operates as a branch of the general salaried workers' scheme but it is managed by the *Maison des Artistes*. The scheme works on a declarative basis, funded by artists' own contributions as well as by contributions made by 'distributors' of their works including the state, public institutions, local communities, galleries etc (ERICarts, 2006: 28). A similar system, is implemented in Germany; under the special scheme called *Künstlersozialkasse* (KSK), contributions are shared between the individual artist, enterprises regularly using artists' work and services– such as gallery directors, auctioneers, theatres, broadcasters and others, and the state. In comparison, the contribution made by 'distributors' in France is significantly lower and varies between 1% - 3.3%. Artists are envious of the fact that, in both countries "society offers them (visual artists) a way to survive" (I019, 182-185). One artist, who is familiar with the system in France, suggested that a similar scheme should be implemented for artists in Cyprus in order to accommodate for the perplexities of the occupation (I019, 152-156).

Most visual artists sustained similar beliefs regarding the state's role in their living and working conditions. But in reality, most countries, including Cyprus, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Norway and Spain, do not have special social security measures for individuals in the cultural sector. There is a universal social coverage which gives all residents access to social security, health services and pensions. The possibility that special provisions for artists may encourage other working groups to pursue similar arrangements may be a deterrent; they may also be considered discriminatory against the rest of the labour force.

Would the grounds for these schemes be justifiable, considering the idiosyncrasies of individual artistic practice? Visual artists generally supported this view and extended these expectations to other areas, such as the taxation system.

Yet again, there is an apparent distinction between visual artists who work exclusively as independent visual practitioners and those who are employed or self-employed in an arts-related occupation such as teaching. The latter seem to be content with the fact that through their auxiliary occupation, which is regulated by the government, they are able to calculate and pay their taxes. On the contrary, the former state that existing tax conditions are far removed from the realities of artistic life; similar to their predicaments with social insurance payments, artists maintained that because their income is often sporadic and irregular, the taxation system essentially penalises them. Artists considered themselves to be at a tax disadvantage, paying tax at a higher rate in a 'good year', even though that income will support them in following years

as well. A representative of E.KA.TE., one of the visual artists' associations, affirmed that there is increasing demand by artists for an income averaging system; she explained that artists might be working towards an exhibition for three years without pay- when they finally exhibit and sell their work, their earnings should be considered their income for three years rather than for a single tax year (I005, 388-397). There are similarities between the attitudes expressed by visual artists in this study and those described by McAndrew and McKimm (2010) in their study of artists living and working in the Republic of Ireland. With the existing system "artists have a higher tax liability than other workers who earn income more 'equally' between different years" (ibid: 158). They also believe that creating income averaging mechanisms for artists would be 'fairer'; it would not be considered preferential treatment but, on the contrary, it would harmonise artists' access to social security and taxation systems with other self-employed labourers.

A number of countries (for example, Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Finland, Germany and Greece) allow professional self-employed artists to benefit from income averaging by spreading their income over a period of two to four years (McAndrew and McKimm, 2010: 37). These are special schemes which are designed in accordance to artists' working patterns, benefitting those who are paid in relatively large single payments from exhibition sales and who may spend long periods of time working on an artwork. Alternatively, in the United Kingdom, there has been an increase in the number of artist-run businesses, necessitated by the fact that it makes income averaging possible and it allows artists to make tax deductions of their professional expenses (Ellmeier, 2003: 4). Policy circles, especially in the UK, have frequently

promoted independent artists to operate as small and medium sized enterprises within the creative industry.

But this has not been the case in Cyprus; very few visual artists have become "sole service suppliers in the professional cultural field", or "cultural entrepreneurs" as Ellmeier (2003: 3) suggests. Furthermore, it has been observed that visual artists who had created their own micro-businesses were guided into doing so by a relative who had knowledge of self-employment regulations (I003, 253-254; I021, 146-149). Would this imply that the majority of artists are simply not aware of alternative methods to manage their professional practice, or are the alternatives still not pertinent to their circumstances? Both assumptions are plausible. One visual artist affirmed that it is the latter; he explained that the state does not recognise the vast disparity between his income and expenses- especially between two exhibitions when he incurs significant costs to produce his work but only receives income sporadically (I019, 166-173). Akin to artists in other countries, visual artists in Cyprus maintained that they are unable to deduct specific 'business expenses' which apply only to their profession, for example, particular types of equipment, training courses and artist materials (Staines, 2004: 53; I019, 171).

Is it also possible that, in an effort to disassociate their art practice from normal business traditions, artists simply do not want be enterpreneual? On the one hand, visual artists, both individually and through their associations, strive for professional recognition; they make strenuous efforts to persuade the state to create a special occupational category for artists in order to ensure

that they are able to make social security and taxation payments as artists. On the other hand, they firmly believe that their professional practice is not a business, and that their art should not be commercialised as common objects are. Despite the apparent controversy, these beliefs seem to coexist and form the theoretical context of the following chapter. Abbing (2002: 26) affirmed that "over the last one hundred and fifty years artists and the arts have become symbols of an alternative to the bourgeois lifestyle. It was a romantic, not a realistic alternative; and this probably added to its allure". If artists were to operate as a business, the notions that the arts are exceptional and that artists serve a higher purpose, would be challenged.

Regardless, there still seems to be a general confusion amongst visual artists regarding their tax obligations; this implies that perhaps artists lack the professional training in managing their practice. In their majority, they do not appear to be concerned with income tax or Value Added Tax (VAT) since they believe that they do not meet the income threshold. One visual artist explained that "most artists are not listed as paying VAT because they need to have an income of 18 thousand a year and then be required to pay VAT" (I005, 370-371). On the contrary, another asserted that artists need to earn more than 25-30 thousand to start paying VAT, stating that he is not registered in the system because he does not qualify (I002, 334-335). Another was convinced that the threshold is 12 thousand a year, affirming that "it is very difficult to reach these levels" (I026, 242-244), while others stated that they simply do not know how the system works: "There should be a regulation for this but I do not know what the regulation says" (I007, 169-170). In reality, income tax is compulsory on income above €19.5 thousand, accruing from

sources both within and outside the Republic; VAT is imposed on individuals or companies whose value of taxable supplies recorded in the last 12 months exceeds €15.6 thousand (Deloitte, 2013: 2). These thresholds are very different to those assumed by artists. This misinformation or lack of concern for taxation policies should be alarming. Contrary to the law, sales may not be recorded and the provisions of taxation and social security legislation are not always adhered to.

4.2.7. Undeclared Work

In a number of cases, visual artists disclosed that remuneration for self-employed artistic work is not declared to the social insurance and tax authorities. Undeclared work is "remunerated activity that is in every respect legal besides the fact that it is unregistered by, or hidden from, the state for tax and social security purposes" (Williams, 2010: 124). Several artists believe that since income deriving from their artistic practice is sporadic and not sufficiently remunerative, they are not in conflict with the law. Since they pay social insurance through their other occupational activities, they considered their obligation fulfilled (I002, 337-339). One artist stated:

> I don't declare anything. The reason I don't declare anything is that ok, when you have an exhibition every [.] three years and from that exhibition you might not sell anything, or if you do sell something you might cover your expenses for example, it isn't a big income which you should declare. Now these things aren't very clear for me, I don't know if the law will be after me if I don't declare something. But this is the way I operate for now. […] as far as the social security system is concerned, I am a teacher, not an artist. (I020, 232-238)

Similarly, regarding income tax, an artist asserted that since her art practice is not her main source of income, earnings are considered "an extra amount for

[her] to use for [her] materials" acknowledging that "it could be wrong maybe but [she] wouldn't be giving it to taxes" (I023, 219-222).

A number of visual artists affirmed that they "do not know what the regulation says" (I007, 170) or that the legislation is unclear on these issues (I020, 235), giving grounds for inadvertent illicit employment. However, they appeared to be conscious of the illegality of their activities and wilfully naive of the situation; as an exemplar, one visual artist stated: [t]hey don't ask me for that, I don't know what goes on with that" (I002, 337-339). Regarding taxation, another artist explained: "I have no clue about economics; I don't understand much, I simply suspect", asserting that "indirectly we pay VAT; we might pay it. Because the amount the gallery director adds to our work, the percentage added [.] indirectly we might pay it" (I007, 177-179). Artists explicated that had they worked on their art practice full-time and considered it to be their "permanent job" from which they would procure a monthly wage, they would declare it (I002; I020; I0023). But even some of the self-proclaimed 'professional' artists do not declare their income.

In Cyprus, undeclared work is not an isolated phenomenon and, according to the findings of this study, visual artists are not the only ones in the artworld who withhold their income. Until recently, it was almost taken for granted that self-employed people would pay little, or no, income tax (Williams, 2010: 124). Christofides (2007: 39) also observed that it is common for self-employed individuals to under-report their income, and for publicly paid workers (including teachers) to hold a second, undeclared job, contrary to their terms of employment. Furthermore, this mentality is not limited to

individuals living and working in Cyprus; Williams (2010: 128) contended that, within Europe, there is a multiplicity of forms of undeclared work, as well as a mix of motives. Even though the extent and type of undeclared work differs, in their majority, individuals who do not declare their income are willing participants. In Cyprus, measures are currently being taken to reduce tax evasion by the self-employed, but as Christofides (2007: 40) supported, it is doubtful whether they will have an impact since their enforcement is not assured.

The questions raised by these situations are several. How can current exhibitions structures and practices change, if there is no fundamental change in the funding arrangements between the state and exhibitors? Is the lack of political interest a contributing factor to this inertia? Considering the earlier discussion on artists' resistance to entrepreneurship, is it possible that visual artists prefer to disassociate their practice from these formal agreements? Are artists who support the enforcement of exhibition rights more motivated by financial gain or are they simply interested in sustaining their practice as their principal occupation? Ultimately, if the perceptions, attitudes and requirements of artists are so diverse, how can they collectively attempt to exert pressure on relevant authorities?

The answers to these questions are inextricably interlinked and relate to wider issues of perception, self-perception, definition and policy. The chapter so far has focused on the role assumed by the state and the character of its intervention in the cultural sector. The following sections explore the role of the infrastructure services that influence the development of artists,

addressing several questions about artists' associations and the commercial galleries that support artists' work. In particular, the next session will analyse the structure of these associations and evaluate their conditions of membership. Subsequently, it will discuss how issues of importance to artists are addressed in a collective bargaining system.

4.3. Professional Associations as Social Support

4.3.1. The Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts

The collaborations that the Department of Cultural Services instituted with other countries in the early 1960s resulted in the creation of opportunities for Cypriot artists to exhibit their work in international exhibitions and biennales. As a result, artists soon became conscious of the need to become more organised, which led to the formation of an artists' association.

The Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts (E.KA.TE.) was established in 1964 as the primary representative of visual artists in Cyprus. The review in Chapter Two showed that there has been relatively little research into artists' perceptions of the associations that are meant to represent their interests. In this chapter, E.KA.TE. is examined more critically based on the empirical data collected for this study.

According to its current statute, the primary aims of the Chamber are to promote artistic creation in Cyprus, to preserve the right of free artistic expression, and to protect the rights of Cypriot artists (E.KA.TE., 2013). The association receives annual funding from the Cultural Services to help them achieve these aims. The funding received is not fixed per annum but depends on a proposal submitted by the Chamber to the Department of Cultural Services for the coverage of operational expenses but mostly for the organisation of art exhibitions in Cyprus. There is one full-time employee who acts as the secretary, while a nine member executive committee is responsible for the day to day administration of the Chamber, including the organisation of events, exhibitions and the pursuit of funding. Five of the members of this

committee are elected by the General Assembly, whereas the other four are appointed regional representatives. The members of the committee are expected to work on a voluntary basis. As the president admitted, it requires incredible sacrifices to be a dedicated committee member, specifying that she has had very little time to focus on her own practice due to her responsibilities as president (I005, 53-55).

Interviews with current as well as previous members of the committee have revealed that the responsibility for the association befalls primarily on the president. She works mainly in cooperation with the single member of staff to initiate and operate the artistic programme, provide information to artists about opportunities nationally and internationally as well as advocate, lobby and represent artists in an official capacity. Committee presidents have usually been retired artists or teachers in the public education system, possibly because they are less dependent on income and can assume responsibility of these tasks.

There is a disparity between how current and past committee members spoke about the association and how other members perceived their actions. The former commended the association's efforts in lobbying the government for improved conditions and status (I005, I006, I007). They praised the association's interventions in political decisions that would affect artists' working lives. Some committee members were involved in the review of the 'One Percent for Art' scheme, the evaluation of the selection process for competitions organised by the state, and the ongoing project for copyright protection and resale rights. Representatives from the association participate

in selection committees for public projects and are present in parliamentary debates on cultural matters (I005, 109-113). As previously examined, visual artists' associations in other countries serve a similar purpose.

Interviews with non-committee members of E.KA.TE. showed that they were either unaware of this activity or had different expectations. The majority of visual artists remarked that the association's main visible activity is the dissemination of information on current events and exhibitions. Artists disparagingly noted that they "get emails and updates with what is happening" (I023, 153), that the association organises "an exhibition now and then and send an email with an open call" (I012, 385), and that artists receive "some announcements, messages, of some visual art situations happening in Cyprus, or competitions, or any other announcements [artists] need to be informed about" (I018, 153-156). Conversely, they maintained that E.KA.TE. does not "[fight] for artists' rights" or does "anything substantial" and considered it to be "indifferent as an association" (I025, 235- 236). A number of artists believe that they can manage equally well without being members; one of them asserted that if someone is familiar with the internet, they can easily remain up to date with current events and potential opportunities unaided (I021, 120).

The findings suggest that there is a communication gap between the association's committee and its members. Visual artists mentioned that critical decisions are taken internally and communicated to the members after procedures are finalised. E.KA.TE.'s secretariat has stated that executive decisions are often made by the president without the consultation of other

committee members; this may be due to lack of interest or dedication by the committee or the president's personal initiative. The concentration of power and centralised decision-making opposes the democratic system the association is based upon. It also weakens the efforts of the group and the support of its members. A number of artists have expressed their concern about the lack of transparency in the association's activities and believe that the committee should be "less introverted" (I011, 318-324). There is also a rumoured involvement of political parties in the election process which causes unease amongst some of the members. One artist asserted:

> Unfortunately, [...] there are a lot of political issues [.] around who is going to be in the new council of E.KA.TE. let's say. And political parties become involved in the situation and I can't, it hurts me, I don't even want to think about it [...] even how the council of E.KA.TE. is formed, it has to do with what political party each member is. (I012, 370-374)

The artist explained that this situation is potentially harmful to the group's composition and it is a hindrance to artists who would otherwise be interested in becoming involved (I012, 378-379). Confidence in the association is weak, with perceptible consequences on its collective bargaining strength.

Essentially, the artists interviewed have different expectations from the association. They contended that the role of the association should be to support them in their professional endeavours. They maintained that its support should extend beyond advocacy, to the provision of insurance and pension funds (I021, 121), research, equipment, legal assistance (I012, 379-380), fundraising (I012, 387-390), and professional accreditation. Some of the younger interviewees believe that E.KA.TE.'s resources should be focused on assisting visual artists in establishing mechanisms to develop or promote their

practice. Another participant asserted that communication between members needs to be strengthened and training events should be introduced in the agenda:

> [...] there could be seminars for artists, there have been one or two seminars so far. It needs some kind of authority, to be able to organise an event, invite artists for a glass of wine, to share their ideas, have some lectures. (I018, 156-160)

On a similar note, a number of artists have suggested that E.KA.TE. should have a social venue, a platform where visual artists could voice their concerns about their practice and socialise with other individuals in their field. One artist recalled that the association used to function as a social space; "it was a place of gathering. E.KA.TE. used to have a small pub, where [we] went and met with other artists" (I025, 236-239). One of the younger participants of the study suggested that this idea should be restored, explaining that she would have liked the association to have a coffee shop where artists could congregate (I012, 382-384).

However, artists' attitudes towards collective organisation vary. One artist stated that he "generally abstains from unions" (I024, 184- 186) while others admitted they are inactive members (I023, 153-156; I025, 230). For example, an artist revealed: "I do not pay the membership fee and I told them that I don't want to be a member- in E.KA.TE.- and they still insist that I am. I don't want to be. I don't want to belong anywhere" (I017, 494-497). He noted that they still invite him to participate in the exhibitions they organise and that he receives regular updates regarding their activities; and yet he is not interested in supporting their efforts. Younger interviewees in particular have a similar stance; most of them have not joined the association and those who have, are

not active participants (I002, 437; I020, 259). This finding supports previous research on union membership conducted by Kjellberg (2011). His study illustrated that there has been a general decline in union membership, most notably among younger workers. Even though E.KA.TE. differs greatly from a union, the attitudes towards this kind of social groupings seem to be similar. If artists show such low levels of collective organisation and interest in the association's activities, how are they able to address their issues at a collective level? Two important questions to address here are: what are the conditions of membership to the association and when do memberships lapse?

4.3.2. Members and Gatekeepers

According to the statute, an artist can become a member of E.KA.TE. either as a graduate of a Fine Arts Institution by presenting samples of his/her work, or if not a related-subject graduate, after their activity and creative work has been reviewed by a specially appointed committee. However, the association's secretariat admitted that they rarely accept artists who have not obtained a degree in the arts. This contradicts artists' assertions that a degree is neither absolutely necessary nor sufficient as a criterion for definition. A number of them suggested that the validity of the degree can be challenged if after receiving their diploma artists become inactive in the field. This criterion also excludes reputable, self-taught Cypriot artists from becoming members. If artists believe that exceptional creative work and artistic merit should be a stronger criterion for entry to the association (I015, 511-514), why is this not reflected in their statute?

Furthermore, the occupational status of members does not seem to affect their conditions for membership. One artist stated:

> [...] there are all kinds of artists, from up there to down here, who painted the last time 25 years ago [.] who want to be considered artists but they aren't artists because they only had one exhibition... (I017, 504-506)

The artist explained that members might be active as 'professional artists', work in public school education or essentially be inactive in the field of art without impinging on the status conferred to them.

Visual artists whose primary occupation is their artistic practice considered the heterogeneous nature of the association to be detrimental to the advocacy of issues important to them as self-employed individuals. One artist stated that since the majority of artists in E.KA.TE. are teachers in the public education system, most of them "don't care about their social insurance, their healthcare, they have all this, they get Christmas bonuses; their profession is recognised, so they don't have the same issues professional artists have" (I019, 214-216). A number of artists have voiced similar concerns; they contended that E.KA.TE. cannot respond to the issues they raise in regards to the regulatory system, because these matters do not seem to affect the majority.

Canada, and later Lithuania, adopted a specific Status of the Artist Act, "granting professional status to artists in order to differentiate them from arts hobbyists for purposes of taxation and legal recognition to artists' associations as collective bargaining agents for employed and self-employed artists" (Cliche, 1996). According to the Act, an artist must meet the requirements for membership of a "national certified association" in order to receive

professional status (ibid). Once the artist has been deemed ‘professional’, they can benefit from the conditions negotiated by the certified association on their behalf. Similarly, one of Frey and Pommerehne’s eight criteria proposed to define artists was membership to a professional artists’ group or association. Still, Towse (1996: 5-7) remarked that it is essential to investigate how members come to be admitted to artists' associations. A decision to survey the members of a visual artists’ association denotes an acceptance of the association’s definition of a visual artist. The heterogeneity of E.KA.TE., its criteria for membership, the absence of a mechanism for inactivating memberships as well as the lack of involvement by its members may eventually put the association’s status into a compromising position.

A number of visual artists interviewed are members of Ei.Ka, another association created by and for “professional artists [who] work exclusively on their art” (I020, 262-263). Professional identity for these artists is experienced as shared devotion to their practice and therefore involves a sense of superiority over other practitioners who may support their practice through teaching. Artists explained that this association was formed by artists who were former members of E.KA.TE. as a result of an impasse over the association’s objectives and composition. In contrast to E.KA.TE., Ei.Ka only accepts artists whose primary source of income is their artistic practice; if this criterion no longer applies (for example, if a member accepts a position as a teacher in the public education system), the member is automatically removed (Ei.Ka, 2010: 3).

According to Ei.Ka's members, the association better represents professional visual artists and their needs because it is homogenous. Regarding the association's objectives, artists affirmed that they are interested in the establishment of the profession and that they are "trying to put an order to all this uncertainty" (I019, 207). The artist explained:

> Our goal is to recognise the term artist [and address] various other issues, like the social insurance system, or health benefit issues, which must have some order so that the nature of [their] profession is recognised, the conditions of the profession, the characteristics of the profession, so that the needs [of artists] can be recognised and understood by various legislations" (I019, 214-217).

Since Ei.Ka represents 'professional' visual artists, who somewhat experience similar working and living conditions, they seem to share the same proclivity towards improving them. The growth of the credibility and acceptance of the association by the state and by legislative, judicial and industry bodies has meant that suggestions put forward by the committee are acknowledged and considered by policymakers.

Still, it seems that their efforts do not extend to the negotiation of gallery agreements which appear to be equally arduous. The following section investigates the role of galleries in marketing and selling the work produced by artists in Cyprus. It also examines artists' views on gallery representation and the individual, rather than collective, conflicts they experience with these mediators.

4.4. Gallery Directors as Commercial Intermediaries

4.4.1. Understanding the Primary Art Market

The contemporary art market in Cyprus is divided into two principal trading levels- primary and secondary. The primary market deals in work that appears on the market for the first time; at this stage the works of art have not been bought or sold before. The secondary market, which is now dominated by auction houses, consists of the exchange of existing works of art (Robertson (2005: 94). There are also several art markets to consider as artists operate in various commercial contexts; for example, interviewees spoke about the local or regional art market, the 'Cypriot' art market, and the international art market. This section focuses on the primary market in Cyprus and discusses the role of commercial galleries dealing in contemporary art. It further analyses the symbiotic relationship between visual artists and their dealers and the effectiveness of their partnerships.

The typical role of commercial art galleries is to market, promote and sell the work which artists produce to collectors, investors, and other art lovers and compensate the artist according to previously agreed terms. Their primary purpose is to earn an income for the artist and a profit for the gallery owners.

Beyond their commercial role, galleries assist in the creation and consumption of art. McCracken (1988: 72) would define galleries as 'way stations' within which cultural meaning gets transferred from the artist to the viewer. A number of galleries will assume responsibility for written and visual exhibition material, speak about the artist's work at exhibitions and reply to emails on the artist's behalf in order to cultivate an art-buying clientele. In a

literal sense, galleries act as ‘way stations’ for artists’ works when they assume responsibility for the transport of artworks from the studio to the gallery space and from there to the buyer.

Furthermore, Annamma (1996: 20) suggested that the process of ‘seeing’ or ‘being seen’ in the context of a gallery, is the first step towards the recognition of the artist in the art world. Middlemen and intermediaries in the art market are therefore considered central in the certification of quality (Towse, 2010: 63). Rosenthal and Wigram’s (2002) guide into the contemporary art scene in London explained the central role of commercial galleries in “the process of evaluating, sifting and disseminating the virtually endless production of art around the world”. Every time the artist's work is exhibited or sold, its importance is reinforced and its commercial value rises (Beckert and Rössel, 2013: 2). There is a social translation of artistic reputation and quality into market prices that relies on an interdependent relationship between the artist, the artwork, the gallery and the buyer of the work. In this respect, the gallery’s role is to help in the establishment and maintenance of the artist’ reputation, a practice which by extension, serves its own commercial intent.

4.4.2. The Artist-Gallery Relationship

There are about fifteen commercial art galleries in Nicosia, seven in Limassol, three in Larnaka and two in Paphos. This distribution shows that in comparison to the number of galleries in the capital, other regional arts scenes are still small and underdeveloped. An artist who lives and works in Paphos noted that “Paphos is small [...] from all points of view; the public is limited, the appreciation they have and the perception they have of the arts, of the

visual arts is limited, but the commercial opportunities are also scarce" (I007, 63-65). As a result, in order to exhibit and sell their work, artists often approach galleries in other major cities.

Interviewees distinguished between three types of commercial galleries, although their general practice is not as rigid as it is described. There are galleries which lease out their premises to artists who wish to mount an exhibition, also known as "vanity galleries" (Brindle and Devereaux, 2011: 131). These galleries usually organise solo or group shows that are one-off and act as representatives of the artist only for the duration of the show and only with regard to the works on exhibition. Other galleries form long-term relationships with the artists they represent and take responsibility for the long-term promotion and placement of an artist's work. The primary term of this arrangement is that the gallery acts as the artists' sole representative, within a specified geographical location. This does not limit the artist from exhibiting in group exhibitions, museums or foundations, or from being represented by a gallery in a different country (AS07; AS09).

Two gallery directors interviewed described their relationship with artists. They made frequent visits to artists' studios and were in constant communication with them throughout their creative process (AS07, 211-212). One gallery director interviewed described this close relationship as follows:

> With the majority of artists, we arranged to have a meeting, we looked at the space and somehow we started to build the exhibition together. [...] In the selection process as well; for example, if it was a series of photographs we would make the selection together with the artists. They might have said I prefer these ones, but they have an opinion and they listen to your opinion, and this happens through a very nice discussion of the work (AS07, 166-178)

While gallery directors claimed that they do not generally interfere with the creative process, the artist interprets their recommendations to progress their work. One artist, who is represented by a gallery, stated that working towards an exhibition compels her to create because she is under the gallery's supervision (I016, 150). Similarly, a young visual artist indicated that her relationship with the gallery director goes beyond the nature of their business: "He was very helpful, he came to my studio and saw how I'm getting along [...] We went to ART Athena together as well, the fair in Athens, and he was always very supportive. He was also like a mentor, it wasn't only work." (I014, 142-144). In most cases, the gallery director's impact on the artist is subtle and seemingly well received.

Looking at the gallery's portfolio of artists it is observed that these galleries exhibit work which reflects their own vision. One gallery director noted: "To be honest, I like a specific style of art which I feel connected to. [...] I have a particular relationship with abstraction, and I generally lean towards that direction. Many of the selections I make are based on this element" (AS09, 104-108). Brindle and Devereaux (2011: 126) explained that this "does not necessarily mean a completely homogenous style of presentation". Another gallery director interviewed echoed this sentiment; she exhibits artists whose work she admires (AS07, 166-178). She explained that although the artists have very distinct work, they have common sociological and socio-political elements (AS07, 140-142). Both gallery directors made clear that their selection process is scrupulous. Loots (2012: 10) suggested that since "an alliance with an artist is an investment that involves risk", galleries are cautious in the selection of artists they will represent.

Zorloni (2005: 62) observed that "the levels of service provided to the artist and the type of promotional activities undertaken by the gallery vary". In Cyprus, some representative galleries bear all the exhibition expenses, including invitations, publicity, exhibition photography, cataloguing, insurance and the costs of the opening night. Some are able to contribute towards the framing of artworks and others invest in the artist's work by contributing towards their production costs. For example, one gallery director explained that as a policy "if an artwork is sold, 50% will go to the gallery and the other 50% to the artist. We divide expenses the same way". There are additional costs which are not borne by the artist: "When it has to do with printing the catalogue for example, or paying the graphic designer who will design it; that is on us. Everything that has to do with setting up." (AS07, 80-81 and 230-232). Other representative galleries may receive 40% commission and not contribute towards the production costs (AS09, 77). Representative galleries receive a commission from sales which is comparable to their investment. The present findings seem to be consistent with other research which found that galleries in various parts of the world offer similar terms. Selling commission can reach 50% for artists represented by a gallery. (Robertson, 2005: 94).

The primary obligation of commercial galleries is to promote and to market artists' work. Many contemporary galleries have links with other galleries or museums overseas, mostly in Europe. One of the gallery directors interviewed asserted that participating in art fairs is advantageous because the gallery has the opportunity to create links with other galleries and curators abroad which might be interested in the work they represent (AS07, 282). It is also an

opportunity to promote artists' work to a public of international buyers, acknowledging that the possibility of them attending an exhibition in Cyprus is remote. Moulin (2003: 98 cited in O'Reilly et al, 2014) maintained that art fairs are platforms which enable dealers to exchange and acquire knowledge about what is happening in the trade. They are also "providers of various forums for social interaction and access to key experts, competitors, collectors and knowledge which would otherwise not be accessible at a local level" (Morel, 2013: 359). For artists, they are opportunities to create international relationships and move from the periphery to the core of the international art market (Quemin, 2001). A number of artists conveyed that this form of promotion affirms their sense of security and reassures them of the gallery's level of commitment (I014, 142-144; I023, 71). Since the relationship between the gallery and the artist is, in these instances, a long-term one, it is in the interest of the gallery to make the artist's work more exportable. Ultimately, the greater the number of international shows the artist participates in, the greater the value his or her works acquire.

I was able to determine that there are four commercial galleries in Cyprus that operate as sole representatives with long-term commitments and that only five visual artists in this study had this type of 'contract'. Instead, most galleries seem to organise one-off shows and act as representatives of the artist only for the duration of their exhibition. The findings show that there are several attitudes about these collaborations, perpetuated by both the artists and the gallery directors.

Gallery directors interviewed maintained that artists are reluctant to commit to one gallery and that "many of them have created the false impression [...] that exclusivity rights are restrictive" (AS02, 140-141; AS07, 54-55; AS09, 42-43). Meanwhile, some of the artists argued that a number of galleries are not committed to the long term promotion of their work; hence they see no valid reason why they should collaborate with any single gallery in Cyprus (I002, 303-304, I013, 323-325, I008, 217-221, I024, 110-114). Several artists mentioned that in order to sell more of the work they produce they need to exhibit their work in various cities.

As a result, the artist's relationship with these galleries is temporary and often challenging. Most conflicts arising between artists and the galleries that exhibit their work are related to fees. Almost all visual artists interviewed maintained that the majority of galleries in Cyprus charge a high commission (I004, 188, I007, 150). One artist stated:

> With the situation in Cyprus, with the economic circumstances, with the artists, with the way art is moving, I think anything over 20% is too high of a percentage for them to take, to be more specific. (I007, 148-150)

The interview data illustrated that commission charges range between 15% and 50%. Robertson (2005: 94) maintained that commission charges in other countries range between 20% to 33%, in a sliding scale according to value. In comparison, representative galleries charge no less than 50%. The selling commission of non-representative galleries depends on two main variables. Firstly, gallery directors admitted that there is a distinction between 'established' and 'emerging' artists. For example, there is a higher risk involved in trying to sell work by the latter, because the artist has no existing

works with which it can be compared. According to a gallery owner, it makes a difference who exhibits at the gallery:

> If Mitaras [who is a renowned Greek artist] asks me to exhibit his work, I will welcome him, put him up in a hotel, and only ask him for 10%, and I'll be happy. Because if he makes €100 000 in sales, we'll get €10 000. While someone who has never exhibited before might only make €2 000 in sales! Even if I get 50%, I'll only get €1 000. This doesn't even cover our electricity bill. (AS02, 186-191)

The gallery director argued that commission charges reflect the varying degrees of uncertainty associated with selling artwork created by established artists versus the work of young, emerging artists. While a number of reputable ones would agree with this principle, younger artists believe that their professional relationship with any particular gallery should be on equal terms with other artists exhibiting in the same gallery (I013, 353-357). Is there a misconception amongst 'emerging' artists? Is communication between artists and gallery directors perhaps unclear? And what could be the reasons for this miscommunication? Are their expectations too high, especially at the start of their careers? Abbing (2002: 118) suggested that "the available information about the arts is often extremely incomplete and this state of affairs only adds to over-confidence". One of the gallery directors interviewed made a similar point: "An issue encountered with younger artists is their assumption that it is derogatory to indicate a low price [on their artwork]. Because they believe that it is low compared to the effort and energy put into producing that piece." (AS07, 390-393). Storr (2007, cited in Robertson and Chong, 2008) explained that "market values have little or nothing to do with enduring aesthetic or anti-historical values". Due to this misconception about how prices and commissions are set, artists are inclined to overestimate their

abilities and therefore overestimate the rewards available to them. Moulin (1987: 3) stated that "the art market is the place where, by some secret alchemy, the cultural good becomes a commodity". For artists who are seemingly uncomfortable with the commodification of works of art, the art market remains unclear and partly misunderstood.

The second variable that determines commission rates is whether the gallery will charge a leasing fee. If artists choose to hire a space in which to exhibit their work, the gallery may consider charging a lower commission. However, artists were critical of these types of galleries and suggested that they should operate like representative galleries do (I002, 359-361; I007, 154-156). They were convinced that this approach directly affects the gallery's motivation to sell their work because it will receive its fee regardless of whether the artworks are sold. One artist explained:

> [...] up to now, the way most spaces worked was with a fixed rent and with a 30% commission for example, and this fixed rent obviously covered the rent of the building and some receptionist etc which also means that in some way the risk is on the artist, but also the gallery director's motivation to sell and promote the artworks is smaller because they're covered in some way. (I020, 110-114)

It is the artist's belief that these galleries become complacent in their promotional activities. A number of them supported that these issues are only encountered in Cyprus. The findings reveal that the reason visual artists consider the commission charges to be high is because they believe that non-representative galleries do not deserve it. As a point of distinction, they referred to their experiences with galleries in other countries. One artist noted that "in Cyprus the issue is that most exhibition spaces operate with a system which isn't exactly the system which exists elsewhere" (I020, 100-101). Visual

artists consider themselves to be in a disadvantageous position compared to their colleagues overseas. They contended that galleries abroad justifiably receive a large commission, because they assume more responsibility for the promotion of the visual artists they represent.

There may be a larger number of representative galleries abroad which form long-term collaborations with artists; but there are also numerous galleries which agree to one-off exhibitions and several others which simply lease out their premises. Abbing (2002: 120) suggested that artists may sometimes maintain a false belief of 'the promise land' in fear of being disillusioned. Is it possible that artists project an embellished view and a desired reality of their collaboration with galleries abroad? If artists disagree with the way these galleries operate, why not exhibit with one which operates under a different policy? As mentioned before, it is possible that some artists cannot procure a representative gallery in Cyprus; this may be because their work does not align with the gallery's preferred style, or because its directors believe it would be too risky of an investment. It may also be due to the insufficient number of representative galleries in Cyprus. Could this impact artists' embellished perception of galleries abroad?

In contrast to representative galleries, non-representative galleries are not particularly selective. This does not denote that they would exhibit the work of anyone who requested the space, although this is sometimes the case (AS02, 168-169). One of the gallery directors observed that this practice used to be more common because neither party was interested in a commitment; however, he indicated that from the moment a gallery decides to charge rent

as its form of remuneration, its doors would be open to any artist willing to pay for the space (AS09, 96-102). The director believes that a gallery's selection criteria should be based on policy and long term objectives but maintains that this is not always the case, especially in Cyprus.

The varied gallery practices that exist in Cyprus seem to be causing confusion amongst artists regarding their responsibilities and payments. The communication gap between the two parties does not assist in the reconciliation of the issues that concern them, which inevitably impacts on their working relationships.

4.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined the public and private policies and practices that directly or indirectly aid, and sometimes hinder, the development of visual artists and artistic activity. In this investigation, the aim was to explore the rationales that ground public action and analyse the cultural policy mechanisms that pertain to the visual arts. It also intended to evaluate the behaviour of artists' associations and the role of commercial galleries that represent them.

The instruments of direct financial support initiated by the state in the form of subsidies, commissions, pensions and purchases, have been informed and guided by various instrumental rationales. These schemes highlight the importance of strengthening intercultural dialogue and emphasise beliefs related to cultural equality and social equity. Other instrumental aims such as education, enlightenment and aesthetic cultivation are also still prominent. However, interviews with policymakers and cultural officers demonstrated that policy design and implementation seem to diverge. The instrumentality evident in policy design relates to cultural diplomacy, social inclusion and cultural participation; meanwhile the policy implemented by the state and local authorities is linked to welfare ideals for supporting artists.

The chapter has shown that cultural policy in Cyprus is mainly characterised by ad hoc responses to political situations and to the needs of cultural producers. The absence of appropriate mechanisms to evaluate cultural policy instruments has meant that only minor changes to policy have been possible.

The state's policies do not appear to reflect the needs or expectations of individual artists.

The majority of visual artists interviewed for this study have asserted that the government's policies are rendered ineffective by inconsistencies, favouritism and political indifference. This critical view of the system in Cyprus is fuelled by artists' perception that there are better models abroad which are not being explored. However, the research also suggests that visual artists appear to idealise the situation in other countries by overlooking the background, the premise and the impact of their support. The literature shows that long term grants, which have been the focus of their arguments, are only given to visual artists who are making their mark as the *crème de la crème*- but this is antithetical to how artists in Cyprus believe grants should be distributed. In addition, short term grants have adverse effects on the income distribution amongst artists and give a potentially false sense of security to young artists considering entering the field (Abbing, 2002: 136).

The chapter has also examined the administrative and legal provisions pertaining to visual artists in Cyprus. Artists contended that the social security and taxation systems are far removed from the realities of artistic life. They believe that appropriate mechanisms should be put in place to allow them to make social security payments as artists. They also advocate for an income averaging system which would regulate their tax payments. There is an alternative way to make these contributions which would require artists to maintain a micro-business. However, very few artists operate in this way. The findings suggest that although artists want to be acknowledged by the state as

professionals in their field, they are reluctant to embrace 'normal business traditions'.

In addition, the analysis shows that the issue of defining the visual artist inevitably impinges on policy decisions and regulations, and therefore on artists' living and working conditions. Nonetheless, instead of attempting to resolve definitional questions *because* of their ambiguity, they seem to be discounted altogether. In the absence of a mechanism to distinguish artists from non-artists, state policies leave definitional decisions to the discretion of those implementing them.

Working as artists, producing works of art with the intention to have them exhibited or sold, and belonging to an artists' association, denote a level of professionalism and an understanding of the 'norms' associated with the artworld. The following chapter argues that artists' decisions and activities therein relate to their perception of themselves as artists.

5. The Ontological Dimensions of Visual Artists in Cyprus

5.1. Introduction

This chapter contributes to the understanding of the factors that influence the development of an artist's identity. The review of the literature in Chapter Two addressed the historically and socially varied approaches to defining the visual artist, distinguishing between the actors participating in this process. However, the insights of visual artists seemed to be absent from secondary sources. In this chapter, artists' experiences and perceptions are explored. The first part examines the dynamics of defining one's self as a visual artist and analyses the theoretical underpinnings of the demarcation of the artistic profession. The second part of the chapter re-examines the myth of the artist and addresses its various adaptations. Specifically, it discusses the extent to which the participants' perceptions of what it means to be an artist relate to the myth of the charismatic genius. The third and final part of the chapter focuses on the understanding of artists' experiences abroad and argues that they are intrinsically connected to the construction and maintenance of this artistic identity.

5.2. What it Means to Be an Artist

5.2.1. Artists in the Field of Visual Arts

Similar to other arts disciplines, there is an array of art forms which could be included under the rubric of the visual arts. Visual artists in Cyprus, akin to visual artists around the world, produce artworks using a variety of mediums; the visual arts may encompass the traditional fine arts such as painting, sculpture, plastic arts and printmaking, as well as more contemporary forms of art such as installation, video art, site-specific art, happenings, photographic art and performance. The findings of the current study are consistent with other studies in Europe; for example, the report on the visual arts scene in Germany found that new media had strongly influenced artists in recent years (ArtServices, 2001: 5). Painting, sculpture, conceptual art and installation which had been dominant in the German art scene until the last decade of the twentieth century had lost significance in comparison with the areas of photography and video art emerging in early twenty-first century (ibid). However, contrary to the international market, it is asserted that in Cyprus, painting and sculpture are still the predominant art forms, for traditional as well as commercial reasons; other art forms are gaining recognition in the contemporary art scene but the progress is slow (I017, 333; I022, 88; AS07; AS09).

In addition to the multiplicity of art forms they may be engaged in, visual artists interviewed may be involved in curating, art writing, design and computer-generated art, as well as other art forms which may be hybrids between the norms. Visual artists interviewed affirmed that in more contemporary practices “there is a lot of intersection and interdisciplinary

approach" (I020, 228-229). Does this not raise serious questions about what may constitute something 'visual art'? Are these attempts to define the term simply futile?

As discussed in Chapter Two, a plethora of studies have been conducted about the profession. In surveys by cultural economists (Filer, 1986; Jeffri and Throsby, 1994; Throsby and Hollister, 2003; Throsby and Zednik, 2010; Wassall and Alper, 1985) respondents were asked to identify their "principal artistic occupation"- that is the artistic occupation they were most engaged in, in terms of time. They also found that many visual artists purposefully crossed the normative artistic boundaries and had difficulties locating themselves in a single artistic occupation. This also accords with earlier observations which showed that for some visual artists, the primary interest is in blurring or eliminating distinctions among the different disciplines (Markusen et al, 2006). Participants in this study affirmed that the experimental and hybrid character of the works of art they produce, make it difficult to clearly differentiate between disciplines (I001, 46). Several artists contested to strict classifications of art on the basis that they "lead to very specific things", which they believe is restrictive to their practice (I022, 214-215). Acknowledging the multi-layered approach taken by visual artists, this study, as well as those conducted by other researchers, has aimed to capture this wide range of art forms considered to be under the rubric of the visual arts.

5.2.2. Visual Artists' Institutional Perspectives

In part, the multiplicity of instances of art and art practices has led several theorists to consider a definition detached from the formal characteristics of artworks. In their study of the state of visual arts in America, McCarthy and Ondaatje (2005: 2) focused on the organisational features of the visual arts in order to define their scope (see p.52). One of the limitations with the definition they used is that it employed similar notions to explain the word being defined and it inevitably became circular. Still, there are similarities between their definition and the institutional theories introduced by Danto and Dickie in the second half of the twentieth century. Their work was also briefly discussed in Chapter Two (p.38) but warrants closer consideration in this chapter. Danto (1964: 209) presented the notion of the 'artworld', by which he meant the "atmosphere of artistic theory", which could classify something as art owing to its institutional placement. Dickie (1971: 36) perpetuated the idea that the artworld is a set of "systems and subsystems", claiming that to exist, the artworld requires a "minimum core" of members: artists, museums, galleries, commercial market systems, and a public. Similar to this position, one visual artist in this study affirmed that "galleries [...] are supported by the various collectors but also by various art historians, who determine the development of art" (I018, 53-54). He maintained that it is the sum of these elements that compose the definition of the artist and it is the artworld that provides the codes for identifying something as a work of art. These codes are not formal, expressive or emotive properties in the artworks themselves as assumed in traditional aesthetic theories. Another visual artist

interviewed had a similar point of view, asserting that she is considered an artist because she operates within this institutional framework:

> My work is determined as such because I make a living from my work, because some people buy my art, because some people host my exhibitions, because some go through the trouble of paying to have the work or to transport my exhibitions… If none of these things occurred, I don't know how art history could otherwise classify me in the field. (I001, 67-71)

This artist's belief is based on the concept that artworks rely on artistic theories to be classified as works of art; she deduces that the world of art discourse, which she calls "art history" or "social space", "accepts [her] as an artist" (I001, 65-66). This view is mainly interpretive, conceptual and compatible with Davies' description of the artworld. Davies defined the work of art as an object with a particular status; this status is conferred on an artwork by a member of the artworld "who has the authority to confer the status in question by virtue of occupying a role within the artworld to which that authority attaches" (Davies, 1991: 218). The visual artist interviewed, similar to Davies' definition, asserted that this 'authority' is acquired by the artist through their participation in the activities of the artworld and it is with that authority that they are considered 'artists' and their work 'art' (ibid: 87). Davies drew from Dickie's definitions and combined elements from both of his theories; he proposed a new definition which is equally questionable because it has a similar circular quality. Nevertheless, akin to other institutional definitions and similar to the visual artist's statement, DiMaggio and Powell (1991: 10) asserted that institutionalisation is viewed as "context-bound rationality" which focuses on the social context within which the visual arts are produced and disseminated; art and the artist can be considered as such

only within this context. As many of these theorists acknowledged, institutional approaches carry various limitations, which visual artists did not appear to recognise.

According to Becker (1982: 149-150), these theories do not produce a concrete understanding of the original notion of the artworld as meant by Danto: "the necessity of understanding an historical-theoretical context for a work in order to consider it art" (Maanen, 2009: 8). Becker (1982: 36) asserted that it would be more constructive to observe how the artworld makes the distinctions between what is art and what is not art rather than theorise about it. Although visual artists interviewed have found it difficult to suggest a solid definition of the artist, they have noted a number of characteristics about who is, and more interestingly, who is not an artist. Participants affirmed that "an artist isn't someone who happened to study [art] but never did anything" (I008, 323), "is not a person who does exhibitions and sells at extremely high prices" (I008, 310-311) and "it's not necessarily the professional artist, who lives from his art" (I012, 417-418). Instead, they placed value on their own activity within the artworld. It is observed that a number of visual artists are more inclined to utilise their own principles or standards with which to negotiate the boundaries of the visual art profession; it seems that visual artists postulate their space within the artworld and convey their own ontological beliefs.

5.2.3. Self-Definition by Criteria

Frey and Pommerehne (1989: 147) developed a practical system for defining the artist which consisted of eight criteria, reviewed in Chapter Two (p.45); they are further deconstructed in this section because they have been brought up by visual artists as well. Taken separately or in combination, those criteria are often used to define artists for tax and benefit schemes, in artist policies, or for research studies conducted in various countries. However, in Cyprus, very few visual artists would be classified as such using this set of criteria; instead, the majority contest to these definitional factors because they are neither valid for all artists nor do they recognise the characteristics of their profession.

At the outset, their perspectives on the professional qualification criterion are paradoxical and multilayered. Artists interviewed have all obtained a first degree in the arts while a number of them have also gone on to study at a postgraduate and doctorate level. Earlier research has shown that this is not uncommon in the arts. For example, the Republic of Ireland also reported a very high level of postgraduate qualifications amongst artists (McAndrew and McKimm, 2010: 84). The findings of this study also seem to be in agreement with Karttunen's findings, which showed that about 90% of visual artists in Finland had professional training. Karttunen (2006: 65) explained this observation by stating that although formal qualifications are not an occupational requirement, they are increasingly important for Finnish visual artists, especially the younger generations. However, paradoxically, artists in this study stated that a degree in the arts is not an essential precondition for

one to be classified in this field- even though all of them were graduates of art institutions.

Very few visual artists in this study believe that only those who obtain a degree in the arts have the right to be considered visual artists (I015, 69-71; I018, 133-135). The majority of them supported that this cannot stand as an explicit criterion for definition, based on the premise that it is neither absolutely necessary nor sufficient in itself for a successful career. One visual artist interviewed affirmed that this criterion excludes reputable, mostly older, self-taught Cypriot artists who created art before the 1950s, when professional training was unavailable to Cypriot artists (I005, 222-223). Several visual artists also explained that, most importantly, the validity of the degree can be challenged if after receiving their diploma, artists become inactive in the field. One visual artist asserted:

> For some people an artist is someone who has the diploma, which I consider to be wrong. For me [.] that's not enough. Having a diploma means nothing, what matters is how you operate on a daily basis, if you do research, if you are active, and we have many examples of people who didn't go to Art School and they are still visual artists. (I011, 438-442)

The artist believes that what matters most is their activity in the artworld and goes on to explain that the creation of quality work is what takes precedence. Similar to this view, another artist stated that people "who painted the last time 25 years ago [might] want to be considered artists, but they aren't" (I017, 504-507). A number of them regarded a degree to be just "a piece of paper" and supported that the title is earned through continuous activity in the field (I012, 418).

Why do visual artists still pursue an education in the arts only to discredit it afterwards? What does the qualification offer them? A possible explanation for this might be that a professional qualification suggests some kind of higher merit. In other professions, such as health care, accounting, teaching or hair dressing, a formal qualification would act as a certification of professional status. As discussed in the previous chapter (p.148), in the arts, and in Cyprus particularly, there is no legal registration process which can certify that an individual is a visual artist. Visual artists in Cyprus might seek further incubation in art schools with the expectation that a higher professional qualification will validate their position as visual artists on a professional and social level.

However, the paradox which exists regarding the necessity of professional qualifications in the arts may not only be rooted in their capacity to practice their art or in their pursuit for professional and social recognition; another possible explanation for this relates to their ability to *teach* art. Karttunen (2006: 65) has speculated that formal degrees are advantageous in the arts-related jobs at which visual artists work to finance their practice. The findings of this study support that the majority of visual artists who hold jobs in addition to their primary creative practice, work mainly as teachers, similar to some of their Finnish and Danish colleagues (Karttunen, 2006; Bille, 2008). Visual artists living and working in Cyprus teach in the public education system, in Higher Education institutions or teach art privately. Therefore, as teaching is regarded the preferred alternative, it can be deduced that visual artists obtain formal qualifications as a provision of their aptitude to teach the subject.

As already established, the choice visual artists make when confronted with the challenge of financial insecurity is to seek alternative art-related employment; this implies a significant time sacrifice to their primary artistic practice, which visual artists interviewed were not particularly akin to. Nevertheless, the time spent on artistic activities is often used as a criterion to determine and define the visual artist in various studies (Frey and Pommerehne, 1989; Throsby and Hollister, 2003; Bille, 2010). For example, to identify artists for the purpose of their study, Throsby and Hollister (2003: 13) considered which activity their respondents were engaged in most, in terms of time. At the same time, they suggested that artists spent only about half their time on creative work and recognised that very few were able to devote all their working time to their creative activity. These findings are consistent with the present study; one artist explicated how his "painting always suffered" because he devoted the majority of his time teaching art in public schools and had little time to create (I006, 155-157). Another artist stated: "I work over eight hours a day in the studio, and I have the same amount now at school" (I008, 242-245). In reality, the majority of visual artists alluded to a lack of time to do creative work due to other responsibilities, asserting that they would spend any 'free' time they had working on their creative practice (I010, 142-143; I011, 268). Visual artists have also affirmed that they spend a significant amount of time conducting research, doing experimentations, "look[ing] at the canvas" and reflecting on a piece of work (I002, 135-139), time which is unaccounted for and difficult to determine. For this reason, census defining models are often inadequate to acknowledge artistic outputs (Jeffri et al, 1987; Karttunen, 2001; etc). Filer (1988) explained that "a worker who spent 20 hours every week producing

paintings and 30 hours a week teaching would be classified as a teacher. Conversely, a worker who spent 20 hours every week in the classroom and 30 at her easel would always be a painter". It is therefore considered constraining to identify artists solely based on this criterion (Bille, 2010 cited in Steiner and Schneider, 2013: 231).

Similarly, the income criterion is rejected by a multitude of visual artists on the basis that despite their best efforts to sell their work it is often still not possible to "live from [their] art" (I012, 417-418; I018, 137-139). While a number of visual artists interviewed identified themselves primarily as artists, their main source of income derives from teaching art. Artists involved in art education strongly believe that a definition should hence categorically exclude the income criterion as they would otherwise not be classified in this field. Analogous to earlier studies (Bille, 2010; Steiner and Schneider, 2013; Throsby and Hollister, 2003), this research recognises the interdependency of artistic and non-artistic income, and in particular, that arts work is regularly funded through non-arts work. This finding is in agreement with Karhunen's (2012) findings which showed that in Finland, the artistic income of visual artists was found to average only around 15%. Similarly, in their analysis of the situation of contemporary visual artists in Britain, Hewison and Holden (2004: 9) supported that "most artists live on the margins between the subsidised sector, teaching and other forms of employment, with incomes supplemented by modest sales". So far, it seems that the occupational characteristics of visual artists in Cyprus are similar to those of visual artists in other countries.

As it is examined in the second part of this chapter, the occupational ideology of visual artists in Cyprus, paradoxically, portrays the 'true' artist as being indifferent to financial rewards; instead, a number of artists seek a secondary form of employment from which to earn an income, in order to produce art which (according to their dictum) is divorced from any utilitarian values. Therefore, although the income criterion is appealing to economists, it is considered to be antithetical to a definition artists would give for themselves.

5.2.4. Developing and Understanding Quality

For visual artists, any single 'market test' (Alper and Wassall, 2006), that is the measurement of the artist's earnings from and time spent on their artistic practice, is considered inadequate as a comprehensive definition. They indicated to more qualitative criteria that relate specifically to the works of art they produce. The quality of the work is considered to be intrinsically related to the quality of the artists' overall output (Martin, 2007: 17). Visual artists in this study revealed the principles of quality which should be demonstrated in visual artists and their work.

Several visual artists contended that the quality of one's work involves a certain level of skill; an artist must be "a good technician", one who has the ability to create art with an array of materials (I003, 108-111) and "someone who doesn't use one specific medium to produce what he wants" (I014, 239-242). However, this standard of measurement seems to be removed from contemporary definitions of quality, due to movements such as conceptual art and dadaism that questioned long-held assumptions about how art should be made and who is involved in making it.

A number of visual artists explained that there is a collective understanding in their field which sets the quality standard. They asserted that these principles are difficult to define, but as artists they possess the capacity to recognise 'good' art (I020, 228-229; I021, 129-130). Artists considered themselves as gatekeepers; they essentially construct and monitor the mechanisms for the rigorous judgment of artistic quality and contribution in their field (Towse, 2010). It constitutes a form of self-regulation which theoretically upholds standards, provides certification and improves the quality of work produced. Artists' associations also serve this purpose. But how is this knowledge gained? Towse (2010: 63), who is an economist, argued that through education and training, visual artists develop a perception of quality in a personal and social learning process of taste formation. This ability to recognise quality is linked to Bourdieu's (1984: 11-17) theory of 'cultural capital' which, as he argued, is acquired through education and social origin and consists of accumulated knowledge and competence for making cultural distinctions.

However, visual artists believe that professional training does not guarantee that the graduate has acquired knowledge and understanding of the principles of quality. They asserted that although education and training help artists "acquire quality" (if quality can be considered an acquired skill) and recognise quality in other works of art, "it's afterwards that everything starts, it's after that you become an artist" (I002, 108-109; I005, 225-226). One artist implied that an artist must continue to enhance his or her artistic practice beyond the educational setting in order to develop artistic quality (I002, 108-109). There are similarities between the beliefs expressed by artists in this study and those

described by Towse (2010: 63); she noted that in addition to formal training, there is need for an ensuing form of certification of quality which gives rise to "the presence of middlemen and intermediaries in the markets for art and artists [...] to overcome the problem". In the contemporary art market, works of art are assessed by experts. Martin (2007: 17) explained that gallery owners, directors of cultural institutions, critics and collectors constitute 'legitimating bodies' which contribute to the assessment of quality. She maintained that it is their "combined assessment that determines the quality of the artist's output and the quality of each of his or her works" (ibid). However, the present study contends that it is not only a matter of assessment. Quality is 'a collective construction' of the art community, which artists assimilate through their contact with these legitimating bodies.

Bonus and Ronte (1997: 103) also argued that the recognition of quality is a convention associated with art criticism. Risatti (1987: 219) defined art criticism as the study, discussion and evaluation of visual art, which provides insights into a work of art and increases the understanding and appreciation of art in general, illuminating the cultural and societal values reflected in it. But what happens in the absence of art criticism? The state cultural officer explained that since Cyprus has never had an "academic or critical core", Cypriot artists have always had to go abroad to study art, and as a result, there has been "a multiformity in regards to artistic creation and conceptual thinking" (AS01, 415-417). She argued that as a result, art criticism has not been developed in Cyprus; "an evaluation of the work, and as an extension, a self-evaluation" by the artist, does not exist. A prominent Cypriot curator who was interviewed, concurred that "the lack of art criticism in Cyprus, the lack of

curators, the lack of theoreticians in Cyprus, [...] are basic weaknesses in the evolution of the art system in Cyprus" (AS06, 207-209). He asserted that art criticism is very important because it is "the only way to help the artist reflect on what he is doing". This becomes a central concern in the definition of the artist. If education and training do not ensure that the student will graduate with the capacity to become an artist who produces quality artworks, then what is the purpose of art school? And if visual artists, who return to Cyprus after their studies abroad, do not receive constructive criticism about their work, how do they progress as artists? or even acknowledge that perhaps they shouldn't be? What is the role of self-reflection and criticality? If quality was a criterion to define the profession, how should it be determined?

The criterion of quality is very rarely used by researchers to determine the population of visual artists for their studies. However, it is sometimes utilised to award government grants to artists as a form of recognition for specific achievements. According to the state cultural officer, an independent committee made up of experts in the field of art had been responsible for awarding honorary pensions to visual artists who have made a significant contribution to the cultural life of the country (AS01, 100-112). Similarly, in Sweden, awards are given to selected artists who have produced work of 'high quality' that is considered important for Swedish cultural life. As the criterion of quality is highly subjective and dependent upon individual variables lacking normative value, it is often controversially interpreted within cultural policy (Towse, 2011: 375). In the policy documents of the Department of Cultural Services in Cyprus, it seems that the term is not interpreted at all. Although the Department of Cultural Services in Cyprus provides financial support to

individual artists in their creative endeavours, it has an obligation to provide equal support to all social groups, whether they are hobbyists, amateurs or other professionals- regardless of the artistic quality of the works produced (AS01, 478-480). An artist asserted that the issue with this standard of measurement is that it impinges on the "freedom of each person to create" (I019, 292-294), which is antithetical to the civil liberties they should protect. However, as previously discussed (p.134), most visual artists oppose the state's disregard of the standards of artistic quality.

Visual artists strive to preserve their professional status and artistic identity by distinguishing their profession from other vocations and their original works of art from other objects. It is a mechanism meant to preserve a sense of continuity and distinctiveness for their identity. Artists consider artistic creativity to be a higher level of creativity because it not only involves imaginative thinking and a capacity to generate original ideas but also the aptitude to interpret the world in novel ways. Coupled with artistic quality, this form of creativity is considered by artists to be unique to their profession. They therefore distinguish from other individuals who claim to exercise an artistic activity. The majority of artists interviewed found it incredibly difficult to define their profession in other terms.

5.2.5. Theories of Imitation, Expression and Communication

In search for a definition more appropriate to their perception of self, visual artists revert to traditional and historical definitions, which in reality originate in the writings of earlier philosophers. Their considerations relate to specific characteristics of visual artists, such as their ability to imitate or represent elements in nature, their capacity to express their own emotions in a work of art, and their aptitude to communicate complex meaning and thought.

The concept of imitation, or 'mimesis', although common in the philosophy of art, does not have concrete meaning. Van den Braembussche (2006: 16) approached this concept in nuance, by explaining that the mimetic quality of an artwork, as expressed by Plato, refers to the way in which reality is represented or portrayed in a work of art. Plato showed favouritism to the craftsman rather than the artist because the craftsman makes "a specific, perceptible, tangible and ready-to-use crafted product" which is essentially a model originating from a mental image of an ideal form; however this is already an imperfect copy. The artist, by extension, perpetuates this by creating a copy of a copy, imitating only the "sensorial appearance of things" whilst lacking the knowledge of the elements (Waterfield, 1994: 445 cited in Braembussche, 2006: 19). Conversely, Aristotle argued that the artist, "does not imitate nature or reality, but represents nature or reality as it should, or could, be" (Braembussche, 2006: 17). Imitation was described as the creative process of selecting, translating, and transforming one media to another (Aristotle, 2012 [350BC]: 53). Both philosophers were concerned with the artist's ability to have significant impact on others.

This is also the distinction made by the visual artists interviewed; they supported that art is not the outcome of something the artist sees in nature and then simply copies. On the contrary, visual artists strongly emphasised that originality of thought and artistic quality are precisely what distinguishes visual art from craft. One artist stated that art "isn't something I see, I copy and that's it. No. That might be a decorator, it could be [.] someone who imitates something else" (I008, 321-322). These beliefs are linked to the notion of originality as expressed by Becker (1982: 63), who stated that "every art work creates a world in some respects unique, a combination of vast amounts of conventional materials with some that are innovative". Art as imitation might have existed in Classical Greece, but as Shiner (2012) explained, the eighteenth century split between the artist and the artisan, emphasised the originality of the artist and often disparaged the artisan as an 'imitator' who was merely a skilled worker, who followed rules, imitated models, and was motivated by pay rather than by "a higher spiritual calling". Hence, visual artists distinguish themselves from designers and craftsmen because of their ability to perceive something *beyond* what they see and create a work of art to express something which is often conceptual; this is regarded an advantage and not a deficiency as considered by Plato.

In a further critique of Plato's theory, Gombrich (1961) argued that visual art cannot be considered an imitation of reality because it is an approach or vision of reality as the artist perceives it. Explaining Gombrich's perspective, Van den Braembussche (2006: 24) stated that "every representation, even the most realistic, is influenced by the conceptual schema, by the vocabulary, by the preconceptions that a painter has about painting, by the tradition in which

he was raised, the technique he has acquired". This denotes that the artwork has a stronger connection with the artist rather than nature and that a work of art reflects the artist's experiences and knowledge. Expressivist theories are therefore considered to be linked with the concept of mimesis, but from a different point of view; it is asserted that art is not merely the representation of external reality but also, "the portrayal of an emotional state of mind, the artist's inner reality, his dreams, emotions and obsessions" (ibid: 37). One artist maintained that "art, visual art, is a way to express something [...] it's a way to express [.] this is going to sound very romantic but to suggest new worlds" (I016, 219- 223). From the mimetic theories to the expressivist views, the focus is shifted from the object to the subject of representation, from the outside world to artist's inner world.

It is also interesting to explore how visual artists perceive this notion of expression. The term is more commonly used to mean the manifestation or externalisation of something that is in the mind. Supporters of these views (Tolstoy, 1930; Collingwood, 1938; Croce, 1992; etc.) affirmed that artists are inspired by emotional experiences and use their skill with paint and other mediums to embody their emotions in a work of art, with a view to stimulate the same emotion in an audience. It was also stated that artists have the ability to "chronicle the completeness of the visible world" as they perceive and understand it (Wallach and Bret, 1987 cited in Hall, 2013: 1). Visual artists interviewed defined art as the creative expression of their emotional psyche and their knowledge about the world. This notion is expressed by an artist who stated:

> A painter isn't someone who just paints to do something for the fun of it. He paints because he wants to say something new, he wants to say something. If he doesn't want to say anything, he won't paint. (I003, 355-358)

The artist alluded to theories that emphasised the communicative properties of art. A fundamental assertion of Croce and Collingwood's theories of art was that the work of art is located in the artist's spirit or mind. To emphasise this view, Croce referred to Michelangelo, who once said: "One paints with the brain, not the hands" (Croce, 1992: 10). However, both argued that intuition (Croce) and imagination (Collingwood) happen simultaneously with expression; one does not precede the other. In contrast to Collingwood's (1938: 304) opinion that the process of artistic creation "is not a matter of making external what already exists internally", a number of visual artists believe that the emotion and thought that is expressed in art, pre-exists it; if this was not the case, they would not have the need to create (I002, 292-294). When they talked about their work, many participants tried to convey their original intentions for a piece and their thought process. One artist affirmed: "I construct things; I think and construct things around issues that concern me" (I001, 61). In this case, the idea precedes the activity. However, others stated that they do not create with preconceived ideas of the final outcome but that "the feeling to create is there inside [the artist] and it comes out" (I023, 50-51). In this case, there is no distinction between planning and execution.

In both cases, the relationship between artwork and reality is not considered as important as the relationship between artwork and artist. Visual artists interviewed considered art to be an allegorical description of *their* reality; one artist asserted that his purpose is to decipher the invisible elements in nature

and depict them in some visual form, embedding his own meanings in the work of art (I003, 67-70). Several participants affirmed that their aim, through their work, is to translate and reveal 'truths' about the political situation of the island (I003, 76-78; I010, 33-34; I011, 109-111), to suggest a positive interpretation of the past (I003, 82-84), or to expose the spiritual dimension of the world as they see and experience it (I013, 290). It was elucidated that their aim is not to imitate nature or reality but to express their own emotions and thoughts; they believe that this expression can only be achieved through art.

An interesting thought expressed by one participant is that artists should not talk *about* their art. He asserted: "I like talking about art. Even though normally artists shouldn't talk. [...] Well, because he expresses himself with his work" (I003, 49-51). Here, the artist articulated values which are antithetical to the charismatic myth of the artist and almost regretted expressing this opinion. He is aware that when he speaks about art he is contravening an unofficial decree set out by artists. However, no other visual artist interviewed expressed analogous beliefs, nor have I found previous research discussing similar ideas; this has limited the explanation of this finding to speculative terms but it is still an interesting point to be made.

Other visual artists explained how their "art speaks" (I004, 9), and suggested that art is a conversation between the artist and their audience and not a unilateral process. According to Tolstoy (1930: 123), "art is a human activity consisting in this, that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that others are

infected by these feelings and also experience them". Similarly, Gombrich (1961: 87) noted that the relationship between a work of art and that which the audience perceives is never untainted because it is "a question of shared views, of conventions" (Braembussche, 2006: 24). This idea brings an interesting angle to Plato's critique of the artist who, as a harmful individual, can play with and corrupt the emotions of a passive spectator. Collingwood (1938: 332) affirmed that the function of the audience is "not a merely receptive one"; they are active observers who collaborate and contribute to the understanding of a work of art. A number of visual artists believe that "an artist always creates for his public. There aren't any artists who create art which no one sees and stores it in their basement. [It is] a dialogue" (I020, 187-189). There is an interesting link here between the artist's opinion and the literature on aesthetic appreciation. Van den Braembussche (2006: 54) asserted that in contemporary art, the artistic concept and underlying intentions of the artist are integral to the audience's appreciation and understanding of the work. Similarly, Kosuth (1991: 249) supported that since artists are the inventors of meaning, they are essential in the interpretation of their own artwork. From interviews with visual artists it is understood that it is not only the relationship between artist and artwork that is fundamental, but also, and importantly, the relationship between the artist and his audience. Artists believe that in addition to their own interpretation, the audience also contributes to the understanding of the work; one artist stated that through his artwork, he converses with his audience "on an equal level and with absolute respect" (I022, 180-182). In the same way, Danto's (1964) institutional definition of art, gives art the function of projecting a point of view or attitude of the artist who aims to engage the participation of the

audience; this places his definition in the broad class of attempts to define art in terms of expression.

These expressivist theories of art propagate that the artist does not imitate nature but externalises something which is already located in his spirit or mind, that art is the outcome of the artist's emotional psyche and that through art, the artist is able to communicate with his audience on a core level. This study has demonstrated, perhaps for the first time, that these beliefs are crucial to the artist's perception of self; in concurrence with similar beliefs, the intrinsically motivated and charismatic individual, forms the basis of a compelling myth which defines their individual, and ultimately, their artistic identity.

5.3. Artist's Identity and the Myth of the Artist

5.3.1. The Charismatic Myth

"Myths are not lies. Nor are they detached stories. They are imaginative patterns, networks of powerful symbols that suggest particular ways of interpreting the world" (Midgley, 2003: 1). Deriving from the Greek word *mythos*, it is an artful kind of history, one which proffers a sense of coherence to otherwise scattered or inconsequential experiences. As an introductory argument in most studies on the subject (Patton and Doniger, 1996; Midgley, 2003; Falco, 2010), myths are considered to be functions of group interaction and can only be maintained if they are part of a social structure. Patton and Doniger (1996: 112) explicated that a myth is a narrative constructed by a group of individuals which seek to share an understanding of certain questions about human life, to which the answers are often unsatisfactory. Similarly, Falco (2010: 5) disentangled "how certain narratives and certain other forms of discourse are managed charismatically so that the groups sharing and experiencing those discourses are maintained as coherent social units over extended periods of time". He explained that a myth is created so that the charisma of an original, individual authority can endure beyond the individual (ibid).

Myth in art, not as the object of depiction but rather as the subject of the narrative, has been of interest to a number of researchers (Kris and Kurz, 1979 [1934]; Menger, 1999; Bourdieu, 1993; Abbing, 2002; Røyseng et al, 2007). According to these studies, the charismatic myth defines the artist as an individual who exhibited an early talent in the arts, often considered to be natural or god-given, who might have been acknowledged for this gift and

encouraged by a teacher, who is passionate, independent, radical and selflessly devoted to their work, who needs to create in isolation from the world, and who produces unique and sublime works of art which are divorced from any utilitarian or commercial values. Various adaptations of this myth have been circulating in the literature and similar themes have been observed in this research.

The myth regarding the apotheosis of the artist as a creative genius, which was developed and strengthened in earlier writings, is essentially deconstructed in recent ones (Abbing 2002; Røyseng et al, 2007). Abbing and Røyseng et al questioned the viability of the artist myth and its use in contemporary society. Abbing (2002: 31) explained that members of the art world, and particularly artists, tend to resolve possible discrepancies in order to keep the myth alive. He gave the example of artists suffering from poverty, lack of recognition, and other drawbacks, who continue to support that they do not necessarily need monetary rewards because "they receive endless satisfaction from their work" (ibid). In most cases, the belief is so widely shared that people do not seek verification and the myth becomes perpetuated. However, Røyseng et al (2007) argued that changes in the artistic field have outmoded a number of concepts such as creativity, genius and the mystery surrounding the visual arts field. Consequently, it is possible that the significance of the charismatic myth of the artist will diminish. And yet, the findings from this study suggest that it is also possible that these challenges might be causing artists to perpetuate the myths and stereotypes associated with their identity in fear of being rendered obsolete. What happens if artists stop believing in them?

One should also consider: what if the motifs described are not part of a myth? What if these seemingly inconsequential events which occur early in artists' lives, actually form their future interests and as an extension, their future occupation? Could this myth simply be the creation of scholars, who take fragments and allusions from their sources and combine them into narratives to inflate these claims for myth? This remains a possibility. The debate is disentangled in the following subsections where I examine how visual artists reflect on their identity as artists.

5.3.2. The Debate Over Talent

Childhood events are considered to have a decisive impact on the future development of a person (Boivin and Hertzman, 2012). Researchers in the arts, as well as other fields, have made attempts to demonstrate how these early events influence the lives and identities of individuals. Kris and Kurz (1979 [1934]: 14) examined the earliest available information about the lives of ancient and Renaissance artists from biographies written by Giorgio Vasari and others; they considered that this would allow them to determine the premonitory signs of uniqueness for what these individuals would later accomplish. Through their research, they identified a number of coinciding motifs in the artists' biographies: most artists had an unusual personal background, they exhibited an early talent in the arts- many without guidance from a teacher-, and in a number of cases a benefactor or a teacher recognised and encouraged the child's talent. These characteristics of the artist, examined through historical examples in their book, are relevant and recognisable in the contemporary art world and evident in recent studies (Abbing, 2002; Røyseng et al, 2007), including the present one.

Visual artists interviewed for this study were encouraged to talk about their personal experiences and career development. Their narrative usually started by describing childhood events which they considered to be significant to their later advancement. It seems that most participants knew from a young age that they wanted to become artists. They had assumed that role. Almost all of them referred to an "inclination" to art since early childhood and emphasised the age at which they started creating. One visual artist remarked that she started doing art in primary school and that she "never imagined doing anything else" (I005, 9), while another artist stated: "I painted from the age of six; I remember I always painted" (I003, 64). The findings of this study are remarkably consistent with previous research on young Norwegian art students, which showed that several of them had been involved in the arts from a very young age (Røyseng et al, 2007: 4).

A young male artist interviewed explained that, in comparison to other children, he liked art "in particular" (I002, 37). Similarly, a female visual artist elucidated how she distinguished amongst other students in her class due to her skill (I013, 11). Several other artists in this study emphasised that they distinguished from early on and that in a way, they felt different about their occupational choice than others. An older participant stated that once he "discovered" he wanted to become an artist, it became difficult for him to finish high school, although he had been a good student. He explained: "I wasn't interested in anything. Nothing interested me [...] I did not want anything apart from painting" (I004, 55-59). Correspondingly, a Norwegian student of dramatic arts remarked that when she was very young, she refused to learn any more mathematics because she was going to become an actress

anyway (Røyseng et al, 2007: 5). Kris and Kurz (1979 [1934]: 28) observed that "a master's genius already strives for expression in childhood" and created a 'biographical formula' to identify these early indications of talent. The similarities between these studies suggest that artists around the world will have strikingly familiar stories. The inclination to practice art from an early age seems to be a common theme in the "childhood histories" of the artists being studied.

A number of visual artists suggested that their early certainty regarding their choice of profession is unique to artists. Could the familiarities between the studies aforementioned corroborate this assumption? Is there truly something unique about this field? Would research on the occupational identity of mathematicians, physicians or academics illustrate something different? Kris and Kurz (1979 [1934]: 14) asserted that "virtually everything that is reported about the childhood and youth of anyone who has a claim to a biography bears some relation to the sphere in which he subsequently distinguished himself"; this theory applied to the artist whose choice of profession is often based on the abilities he or she demonstrated at an early age but it may not be distinctive of this field alone (ibid). Even if it were, a number of beliefs would be against the supposition that an artist's 'talent' can be recognised early and unequivocally; many 'great' artists chose their career late in life and a number of children who exhibited talent at an early age never emerged as artists (ibid: 29).

Furthermore, the accuracy of recovered memories may be questioned. It may be argued that artists' constant meditation on their memories has led them to

bestow on many of their childhood experiences, meanings they did not originally have (Beja, 1971: 25). As memory is inherently a reproductive process, "whereby we piece together the past to form a coherent narrative that becomes our autobiography", all individuals inevitably colour and shape their life's experiences (Bernstein and Loftus, 2009: 373). During the interviews, a number of artists remembered the moment when they decided to become artists, a moment of epiphany; epiphany is a sudden sensation of new awareness experienced when an event, which had aroused no special impression when it occurred, is recalled at a future time with new meaning (Beja, 1971: 15; Holman, 1980: 164). In that moment, visual artists linked the memory of themselves at a young age demonstrating natural abilities with their aspiration to pursue a career in the arts, which ignited their passion and reinforced their conviction. However, it also seems plausible that their memories are true, untainted by the artist myth and the traditional image of the artist as conceived by society.

It is still controversial whether the abilities demonstrated by individuals are the product of genetic inheritance (Gander, 2003; Pinker, 2002; Tooby and Cosmides, 1990) or if they are the product of their environment and their experiences therein (Watson, 1930; Ericsson et al, 2009). A common position in this nature versus nurture debate, particularly during much of the twentieth century, was to deny that 'nature' existed at all. Watson (1930) supported that experience, and not inheritance forms an individual's character and personality. In an infamously radical statement, he suggested that if given "a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and [his] own specified world to bring them up in" he could guarantee that any one of them could be trained to

become any type of specialist- a doctor, lawyer, artist or merchant-chief "regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors" (Watson, 1930: 82). The creed that the mind is a blank slate and that "man has no nature, what he has is history" (Ortega, 1961: 3) has been contested by recent studies on the mind, brain, genes, and evolution. As a result of these studies, there has been a new emphasis on 'nature' in recent decades. Research on the cognitive abilities of individuals, supports that certain aptitudes are externalised due to complex innate mechanisms (Meyers et al, 2013; Simonton, 2012; Mcpherson and Williamon, 2006; Plomin et al, 1997). But nature and nurture are unlikely to be mutually distinct; what was commonly seen as a dichotomy is now considered to be an almost interdependent concept. Gander (2003: 155-157) argued that nature and nurture interact synergistically and that "innate mental modules do not replace learning, they direct it".

In line with this view, a number of visual artists believe that their affections for art were evoked by being nurtured in an artistic environment. In some cases a person from their immediate familial circle contributed to their creative development; one artist stated that "[her] father is also an artist, so [art] was something which was in [her] life since [she] was born" (I012, 8-9). Another artist explained how his uncle, who is a painter, "unlocked" the creativity which he was predisposed to and which he believes was "inside" him (I002, 50-51). In several cases, their teachers at school were instrumental to the advancement of their (pre-existing) talent. As an artist asserted:

> ...when she saw me drawing, and saw that I did it well she took me by the hand every morning and brought me to school, I sat on a desk and began drawing- before the normal

> age for school [...] and so since then I had this passion and love for painting. (I005, 17-20)

Here, the artist makes three statements: First, the artist had exhibited some characteristics of talent at a very young age, before any formal instruction. Then, the artist underwent a turning point through meeting a teacher who acknowledged this talent and encouraged it. The third statement refers to the artist's realisation or understanding of this turning point in her life, this epiphany, which helped her develop a passion for art. A similar point was made by an artist who did not have anyone in her familial circle, "grandfather, grandmother, relative", with an immediate relationship to art. However, she explained that when she was young, her primary school teacher told her that she was good and "it seems that [she] believed him and continued [creating art]" (I007, 8-11). This narrative bears similarities with the narratives of many other artists interviewed who believe that the contribution of a teacher, mentor or family member assisted in their artistic development and the formation of their artistic identity. This may be linked to Stone's (1962: 93) explanation of the factors that contribute to the formation a person's identity, namely, that other people's perception of the individual contributes to their self-view.

Nevertheless, the majority of visual artists asserted that their inclination to art stems from within, not as a hereditary gene but as a mysteriously innate element which they believe lies outside the domain of science or nature. One visual artist described his proclivity to art as an "internal calling":

> ...there's something inside me that is calling me, that screams for me, a calling, an internal calling, much like an athlete who potentially has a calling, his physical status calls him to do some things. And he follows it and we say we have a great

> athlete. Not everyone can do this of course, just by saying, "I want to be an athlete". There is an internal calling. (I006, 276-279)

This calling is depicted as a very intense, almost unavoidable consequence of his being. Røyseng et al (2007: 5) reported similar findings in their research; they affirmed that young Norwegian artists "often talked about an 'inner drive', an 'inner necessity' or an 'almost physical need' to be on the stage, to perform, to play an instrument". Both cases bolster the artist's perception that being an artist is not an obtained characteristic but an intrinsic one.

Several visual artists reinterpreted (seemingly inconsequential) events in their early childhood as indications of innate "artistic tendencies". One of them stated:

> ...this was how I was born. I don't have a start date, I remember since primary school, since secondary school, I did some things which if I judge them now they were artistic tendencies, it was since primary school, even though I never did painting, as an art subject in primary school. (I019, 8-11)

The artist implied that since he exhibited signs of talent without prior artistic training, his inclination to art would be regarded as innate- an inborn, natural ability which he must have "brought with [him]" (I019, 14). Visual artists interviewed were often vague about how art became part of their lives, indicating that they have "always been into the arts" (I025, 8), that they were "always interested in art" (I023, 10) and that "art was always stronger in anything [they] did" (I008, 59). A retired art educator who is now focused exclusively on his artistic practice believes that creativity is like a volcano. "There is magma inside, it mixes, it blends, it mixes and it must come out" (I006, 271-272). Elaborating, he explained that his "artistic eruption" happened later in life but asserted that it had always been inside him.

Similarly, another artist considered that it is her purpose in life to be an artist, stating that she "must be on this planet to paint" (I013, 30-31). Artists seem to be motivated by their belief in the charismatic myth which reinforces their conviction in their natural abilities. As observed in these narratives, the majority of visual artists believe that they were born with the ability or talent to create art and that creating works of art offers a sort of existential satisfaction which could not be obtained doing anything else. It is therefore possible to propose that artistic identity somehow relates to the artists' overall sense of self.

5.3.3. Working Environment and Studio Space

Getzels and Csikszentmihalyi (1973: 101) noted that "when the milieu of Renaissance culture had become aggressively innovative and originality-seeking, the genius who wanted to be true to his vision had to isolate himself and withdraw from the limelight". Bain (2005: 28) explained that by the close of the eighteenth century "this notion of separateness came to be regarded as an essential quality of any true artist". The findings of this study suggest that visual artists in Cyprus achieve this 'separateness' in the confinement of the studio space.

A number of visual artists in this study tended to reinforce the notion of the alienated and tempestuous individual by choosing to work undisturbed in contemplative isolation. The majority of visual artists interviewed asserted that in order to sustain their artistic practice, it is necessary to isolate themselves in a "confined studio space" (I015, 388) and that this was the only way they could produce quality work. One artist affirmed: "there are moments

that I want to be by myself. To leave my imagination run wild" (I004, 250-251). They explained that it is often a "very solo experience" (I015, 367) and believe that their creative output depends on that solitude. Another artist stated: "I want my moments, my time, to isolate myself in my studio, I have that introspection, working on my own" (I007, 122-124). Visual artists portrayed their studio as a mystical place where they become immersed into their practice, "a fertile place" (I006, 133) and "a sacred space" where "no one enters" (I004, 254). It is stated that other activities do not generally encroach on the space and seldom are other people allowed to enter the space uninvited. The isolation and privacy that many artists insist is necessary to sustain their artistic practice, comes with the "clear demarcation of creative territory" and the strict regulation of a studio's boundaries (Bain, 2004: 183).

The findings of the current study are consistent with those of Bain (2004: 181) in her study with female visual artists in Canada. She asserted that for one of her interviewees "the studio was a space that her [...] husband could not unconsciously intrude upon, a space she was not required to expend valuable time and energy on tidying, a space she could claim with the clutter of her own possessions interspersed among art projects in various stages of completion" (ibid); the artist stated that she needs the door to close to have the "mental space" to create. The author explained that the studio gave the artist "the necessary isolation, privacy and freedom to allow her artistic identity to find expression" (ibid). The studio space is therefore assumed to be crucial to artistic practice.

A number of artists supported that living in rural areas also provides that physical isolation they require to create. One artist explained how she went to Cyprus after graduate school and immersed herself in "a completely different culture, speaking a different language" to "really cut loose from absolutely everything". She stated that only during that time could she "sit back" and contemplate the kind of artist she was and how she related to the discipline (I015, 101-105). She remarked that "out there in the country side", she had the "mental clarity" to reflect on her artistic identity. Another artist concurred that having lived in large cities for some time, going "to a place in the middle of nowhere where [he] could sit down and work, and be calm" was imperative (I010, 145-147, I013, 170-172). He went on to elucidate how, after moving out of the city, he had the serenity to create some of his best work. Artists with similar experiences expressed a profound shift in their artistic activity, precipitated by this kind of physical isolation.

A number of artists mentioned that the first thing they did when they returned to Cyprus after their studies was to look for a studio space and stated that they subsequently formed a strong attachment to it (I009; I0014; I0015; I0016; I0019). But why are they so connected to this space? Artists elucidated that there is discipline in maintaining such a space, which goes beyond the need for physical isolation:

> When I had a studio before, I produced work after work after work, that arose because I was sitting- I would go to a place, I had a discipline to produce things, I had a discipline to select things, I had the discipline to throw away or to destroy things and had the discipline to produce a coherent body of work, that would then go into another room [...] the gallery space. (I015, 342-346)

The visual artist asserted that the existence of a permanent space to produce her work gave her consistency in her practice. It is possible that, as Bain (2004: 174) maintained, for the artist, the studio is the primary place that "defines and structures" her daily life and substantially contributes to her self-conception as an artist.

Other participants affirmed that it is appropriate for an active artist to have a studio for the status it upholds; as one artist explained "it can be awkward [...] bringing a professional into a space, which is effectively your home [...] somebody perceives that they need to see me in a studio, or else, you know, I'm not filling the blank. You know, then that's a big problem, it's a big problem" (I015, 388-391). She teasingly explained that artists are expected to have a studio as proof of status, commitment and belonging to the profession. The studio is therefore perceived as a significant component of the artist's professional self and can be deduced that the studio can perform a valuable role in occupational identity construction among visual artists, reaffirmed by the expectations of their professional circle (AS07, 322-323). Visual artists acquire studios not only for the practical purpose of producing art, but also as a deliberate strategy for reinforcing, to themselves and to others, a commitment to the fine arts profession.

However, as many artists recognise, the cost of a studio is often a prohibiting factor in obtaining one. An artist who was recently looking for a place was deterred from the idea because it would be too expensive to rent the space; she explained: "it was crazy- like 600 Euros or 900 Euros for like, a shop" (I023, 38-40). Instead, a number of visual artists locate their studios in close

proximity to their living space, with the majority integrating their studio with their home. One artist stated: “What I’ve noticed about Cyprus, people generally own their own houses. And so since they own their own houses or they own their own places, they have rock solid studios” (I015, 7-8). Although this is not always the case, especially for younger artists, this assertion reflects the situation of a number of artists interviewed. One artist explained how he used to rent spaces in various locations but now decided he wanted to build a studio, which is essentially an extension to his home (I017, 222-223). From the sample interviewed, it was found that several artists have dedicated studio spaces next to their home (I004; I007; I010; I021;) or as an added floor (I003; I005; I017; I018), giving them the flexibility, as one artist explained, to work at any time of the day or night (I004, 38-43).

Other visual artists use their domestic space to work on their art; as one of them stated: “I never had a living room, it was my studio. Usually my living room was my studio” (I013, 95-96). Those with families explained that they work at home now because of the responsibilities they have as mothers. For a number of them, working from home offers them the ability to balance their time between their family and their practice.

> I still produce rather large things but I'm in the living room, so it’s ok, it can work, even from home [...] I kind of adjusted to the idea because the kids go to bed, I want to work late at night, I can work late at night if I want. (I023, 37-42)

This adjustment is not unusual; most learn to adapt their practice to their situation and address this as “one of the challenges” which “informs [their] work” (I011, 310). Other women artists in this study as well as in Bain’s (2004) research have also described how they stretched and reversed their

work routines to work late into the night. They asserted that working in this mode provides them with long periods of concentration without any interruptions; working from their homes is often their only solution.

However, it is not always a desirable solution. One artist working from her home explained that she doesn't have a physical space of her own, for similar reasons: "Whatever I do, I do it at home, in the living room, because I need to be close to my family [...]. Do not assume that my life is very normal" (I025, 177-179). This artist elucidated that the balance between her artistic identity and her role as a mother is often necessarily skewed towards the latter, but rejected the notion that she could ever be considered as a 'dabbling lady painter'. Similarly, Bain's (2004: 190) research showed that female artists are often "not protected from the interruptions of daily life that invariably intrude upon their creative time and they receive little external affirmation of their identities as professional visual artists". In her paper, she argued that "many women tenaciously grasp the idealised spatial form of the studio" to reaffirm their artistic identity, because the space functions as a powerful identity marker for them (ibid: 171). This study did not find evidence to support her theory about female artists in particular but can confirm that the studio serves as a powerful physical space which contributes to the artistic identity formation of visual artists in Cyprus.

5.3.4. Chance, Destiny, Ambition and Arduous Work

Almost all visual artists expressed their belief that their choice of profession and the development of their artistic career were serendipitous. In their narratives, they wavered between their beliefs that their choices were 'coincidental' (I009, I016), 'lucky' (I002, I004, I010) and 'timely' (I002, I006, I011), and their conviction that these occurrences were part of a 'greater plan'. One artist described a series of synchronies in his life that led him to become an artist which, in retrospect, appeared to be too meaningful to ignore (I010, 19-37). He explained that in the 60s, when he graduated from high school, he started painting as a pastime and exhibited his work with other self-taught artists. An officer from the Ministry of Education and Culture saw his work, and encouraged him to take up engraving, a technique which the artist was not familiar with at the time. Fortunately, the officer provided him with the necessary materials which he did not have the means to purchase himself. According to the artist, he was only given one indication regarding the technique but he experimented with the materials almost religiously. The timing of this life event was considered significant because a few months later he would inadvertently be introduced to one of the most renowned engravers from Greece, exhibiting in Cyprus for the first time. Having produced a considerable amount of work, the engraver would recognise his potential and would invite him to Greece as an apprentice; there, he would develop his skills and gain a deep understanding of the discipline. He would then obtain a degree in fine arts and return to Cyprus to continue his professional practice. He also experienced many difficulties in his life, but they contributed to this development.

The artist recognised that if even one of these events did not occur, at that specific time, his life might have been different. While he used descriptors such as ‘chance’, ‘luck’ and ‘fortune’, there is often the implication that these instances are actually an act of ‘fate’. But what if his ‘successful artistic career’ was influenced by other elements that are external to chance or fate? It seems possible that the artist simply does not recognise that his career experiences have been due to choices he had made.

Regardless, there are many similarities between this artist’s narrative and other artists’ interviews where it is asserted that seemingly random occurrences in their lives became catalysts in their development as artists (I002, I005, I009, I010, I011, I013, I015, I019, I021, I024). In the empirical study conducted by Røyseng et al (2007: 5), it was reported that artists’ choice to pursue an art education and an artistic career “was often quite accidental” but that “in the long run, the chance happening proved to be an act of fate”; the artists considered themselves “more or less predestined for such a career”. The inner logic of these synchronies and coincidences gradually asks for a resolution, which cannot be satisfactorily reached unless we adopt this transcendent viewpoint. Artists believe that the seemingly inconsequential events in their lives, the detailed unfolding of which only an omniscient narrator would know, play a mysterious role in their current and future activities. Although these events are not always positive, they ultimately tend to be favourable for the artist and the development of their professional practice.

Weisberg (2010: 246) was critical of the artist's belief in innate talent and chance, supporting that although these attitudes have become part of their habitus, they actually hinder their creative potential; it was asserted that this approach causes artists to make less of an effort in order to pursue their career in art (ibid). The beliefs visual artists share regarding chance, destiny and natural ability often de-emphasise the arduous work and years of experimentation which assists them in pursuing their uniquely individual creative vision; and still, these might not be enough (Abbing, 2002). Galton (1869: 34) indicated that the display of an unusually high level of motivation is the basis of natural ability, by which he meant "those qualities of intellect and disposition, which urge and qualify a man to perform acts that lead to reputation". He "did not mean capacity without zeal, nor zeal without capacity, nor even a combination of both of them, without an adequate power of doing a great deal of very laborious work" (ibid). Cox (1926: 187, cited in Simonton, 2012: 697) provided an empirical case for the importance of personal disposition, illustrating that 'persistence', 'tenacity of purpose', 'perseverance in the face of obstacles', 'ambition' and the 'desire to excel', were common characteristics of individuals who were generally considered 'geniuses' in their field. This did not mean that these individuals had the highest intelligence but that "combined with the greatest degree of persistence, they could achieve greater eminence than the highest degree of intelligence with somewhat less persistence" (ibid). Simonton (2012: 697) affirmed that this drive is most likely essential "(a) to acquire the necessary domain-specific expertise during creative development and (b) to manifest that creative potential when faced with the numerous obstacles and rejections that creative geniuses must confront during the course of their careers".

Although these studies do not distinguish between 'scientific' and 'artistic' geniuses, the study conducted by Røyseng et al (2007) illustrated that young Norwegian artists also identify with this view. In contrast to the charismatic myth, a number of artists in their study seemed to consider that being an artist is an acquired status, obtained through hard work and professional discipline. The study produced results which corroborated the findings of previous work in this field; Bourdieu (1993: 130) asserted that "nothing could be further [...] from the charismatic vision of the writer's mission, than the image proposed by a successful writer who cited: 'Writing is a job like any other. Talent and imagination are not enough. Above all, discipline is required'". Similarly, Weisberg (2010: 246) rejected the notion of genius, in any of its various manifestations, and interpreted creativity as the result of deliberate practice and ordinary processes.

The artist who was previously cited, explained that once he started painting, he did so constantly (I010, 17). This motif was repeated throughout his life as he experimented with various techniques and developed a unique artistic style. The artist also indicated the difficulties he encountered in his efforts to obtain an art education and implied that he actively pursued the opportunities that arose in order to establish his artistic practice. But why did he emphasise these less? Was it chance or was it his dedication and personal initiative that presented him with the opportunities he mentioned? Could it be neither? How much did personal commitment contribute to the artist's professional practice?

A number of visual artists believe artistic development requires work. Some of them took the entrance exams repeatedly until they were able to obtain a position in the university they desired (I002, 57; I026, 247). They affirmed that it was difficult to become accepted but they were persistent in their efforts and spent many hours in training to accomplish this. One of the young visual artists interviewed affirmed that during his studies he continuously did figure drawing- "everyday [...] [for] three years" (I002, 67-70). He highlighted the fact that the prestigious art schools in Greece emphasise on discipline and help students "acquire quality" through constant self-enquiry (I002, 71). However, he maintained that not all art graduates become artists because a lot of them "let it go"; this alluded to the fact that, like any professional, visual artists need to strive to sustain their artistic career. He maintained that when he graduated it was important for him to immediately find a studio space to start working (I002, 89). Others concurred that this proved beneficial in sustaining their momentum and that it is imperative to work "on an everyday basis" thereafter (I009, 50-51; I026, 56). There are similarities between the attitudes expressed by the artists in this study and those described by Bain (2005: 15). A painter in her study explained that "it is often mistakenly assumed that 'you're gifted; you're talented; therefore, you don't have to work the same way that other people have to work'" (ibid). Conversely, creative work "takes time", "demands an intense level of involvement and discipline", it is "quite methodical and labour intensive" and "requires particular technical expertise and skills" (ibid: 16). The majority of artists interviewed would agree that in order to become successful, a systematic approach and a strong dedication to their practice is essential, especially when obstacles need to be

overcome. But could other underlying structures or external dynamics be the reason some artists become 'successful' while others do not?

Abbing (2002: 105) argued that 'natural' talent, dedication and education are extraneous to an artist's success. In reality, the art market only slightly distinguishes artists according to these merits. Abbing explained that in normal markets, remuneration depends mostly on absolute performance. In the art market however, reward depends on relative performance rather than on absolute performance (ibid). He gave an example from the current visual art world of a painting formerly thought to be painted by Rembrandt which dropped in value when experts finally proved that one of Rembrandt's students painted it (ibid. The difference in quality between that painting and a real Rembrandt was very difficult to discern and yet the difference in value was considered immense (ibid: 108). Abbing (2002: 120) suggested that the perseverance, which artists so proudly exhibit throughout their art career, does not actually translate into success but to a prolonged period of self-delusion. He asserted that "irrespective of talent, chances among those who choose to become artists are unequally distributed" and that "the myth that talent is all that counts prevents the gathering of accurate information about what is required in this profession in order to stand a chance" (ibid: 122); this creates a misleading image of prospect in the arts.

Visual artists in this study would oppose this view although it is a possible rendering of the current situation in the artworld. So, are artists in denial, purposefully ignoring the fact that their chances in the artworld are unequal? Are they afraid to admit otherwise? Does this commitment contribute to the

consistency of their artistic identity? Aren't the ones who eventually succeed financially those who persevered and continually made efforts to distinguish from other artists in the artworld? If this is the case, how do we account for the artists who strived to distinguish from others but did not financially succeed? Or those who endured but did not distinguish? The findings suggest that the existence of nonmonetary rewards perpetuates the notion that all artists have equal opportunities. It is possible that these artists are willing to forsake high monetary rewards because they do not measure success in the same way. How is success measured then?

5.3.5. Employment and Income of Artists

It is common for artists to appear uninterested in monetary rewards. Abbing (2002: 50) asserted that "in the course of the history of the artistic profession this type of behaviour became part of the artist's 'character'". It constitutes part of the artist myth. He suggested that "in order to maintain their high status, the arts reject commercial values and deny the [market] economy"; by extension, artists still behave 'a-commercially', or must appear to, because they are expected to profess indifference to financial gain (ibid: 48). Even though a number of visual artists interviewed tended to disapprove of the monetary connection in art, this connection is nevertheless undeniably present. Similar to other professions, visual artists consider employment and income as essential but choose to undertake work beyond their immediate creative practice in an effort to separate their artistic work from the commercial market.

Visual artists in this study asserted that income generated through their practice is irregular and their expectations in terms of earnings are low. One artist explained:

> It has its up and downs I mean even if I know I earn ten thousand euro today I never know when the next one is going to be, neither do I know— the most I might know is when my previous income was. I never know when the next one will be. So I might have to make it last for three years. This is where the big insecurity lies. (I019, 191-195)

A number of visual artists interviewed questioned whether their creative practice alone can procure a livelihood. One participant remembered that "when [he] was in school, [he] formed an opinion about the free artist" but the reality of returning to Cyprus and continuing his practice was different.

Despite the constant production of work in their studio, their income remained sporadic and uncertain, generating expenses rather than income. Research on the employment of artists in Europe (Keseman, 1998: 6; Galloway et al, 2002: 36; McAndrew and McKimm, 2010: 9), Australia (Throsby and Hollister, 2003: 38), the United States of America (Alper and Wassall, 2000; Alper and Wassall, 2006) and Canada (Bain, 2005: 40), also indicated that income deriving from artists' creative practice, is often not sufficiently remunerative to provide an adequate living. How sustainable is this practice?

The majority of artists pointed to the fact that they incur significant expenses in pursuing their creative careers. In the early stages, the costs of training can be significant, especially since studying abroad is the only option for Cypriot visual artists to obtain a degree in the arts. Once established, visual artists have to incur a wide range of expenses essential to their art, including the purchase of materials and equipment, rent of studio or work space, freight and travel for exhibitions abroad, further training, commissions to galleries, as well as expenses in the form of income forgone for exhibitions where artists lend their work with no monetary return. To what extent do these financial concerns impinge on the decisions visual artists make in regards to the focus of their activities?

Solhjell (2000: 325) and Throsby and Hollister (2003: 37) indicated that artists serve both an arts and non-arts labour market. They further distinguished between arts, arts-related and non-arts income. According to Throsby and Hollister (2003: 37), one's arts income would derive from all

activities related to their creative practice, including sales and commissioned work, research, marketing and career administration. Arts-related work would include teaching in the artist's artform, arts administration, community arts development or writing about the arts. Non-arts work is essentially paid work which is unrelated to the artist's field. Throsby and Hollister's research of professional artists in Australia showed that the majority of artists in their study work at more than one job; most preferred to work in arts-related rather than non-arts fields. Despite their preference, there was still a large percentage of artists who, either by choice or necessity, undertook some work in an area not related to the arts. It is important to point out here that their research does not distinguish the visual arts discipline from other fields. It is possible that if research was conducted specifically for the visual arts, the results would diverge. About a decade earlier, Stohs' (1991) research with professional visual artists in Chicago, USA indicated that the majority of participants were employed in arts-related jobs, specifically, in arts education. Bain's (2005: 40) study with visual artists in Canada showed that teaching, either at the university, art college, high school, or community level, was the secondary occupation most frequently cited by artists in her study. Other participants in her research were involved in galleries as owners or assistants, worked as curators, graphic designers or illustrators, mural or scenic painters, art magazine editors, or life drawing models. Very few actually preferred to stay away from jobs in the creative industries, asserting that this association "significantly depleted their creative energy reserves". In a study with artists in the Republic of Ireland (McAndrew and McKimm, 2010: 9), a number of participants stated that they balanced their work as artists with other work, either in or outside the arts. They professed to holding multiple jobs not out of

desire to do so but as a means to an ends, to either supplement or stabilise their incomes or due to lack of work as artists. Akin to other studies, those artists chose to work as art educators or as art administrators or managers (McAndrew and McKimm, 2010: 9). Interestingly then, can we assume that for some, having a different occupation is not considered a compromise?

Similar to visual artists in other countries, several visual artists in Cyprus pursue various sources of income which are beyond their immediate vocation. A number of visual artists become involved in curating, art writing, costume design or photography in various stages of their careers. The majority of those who do not work exclusively on their creative practice, are inclined to pursue employment in art education, teaching at a university, art college, high school or privately. None of the artists interviewed have chosen a non-arts-related profession as a secondary occupation, perhaps because there has not been saturation in arts-related occupations yet. On this point, Abbing (2002: 144) asserted that teaching art is often more financially beneficial and offers more satisfaction than a non-arts profession; this is presumably the rationale of visual artists in Cyprus. One participant elucidated that teaching is regarded the alternative in terms of economic viability, providing them with a level of financial stability that they might not otherwise be able to guarantee.

> I never conceived myself as an art teacher, in schools. [...] But when I came and I was without money, one month, two months, three months, [.] well, I then began to think about the possibility, the possibility to [.] have this sort of job. And I did it as a necessity. (I007, 45-48)

By making certain occupational choices artists learn to diversify their income. Most artists reduce their risks by teaching, particularly when being appointed as art teachers in the public education system- in Cyprus, this profession

offers job security until the age of retirement and a good pension thereafter (I022, 160-161). The state has been able to assimilate a large number of artists in its workforce as full-time art teachers, and subsidises evening classes for adults, employing more artists as teachers on a part-time basis. On more than one occasion, artists have stated that they considered teaching in the public education system a form of subsidy from the state (I017, 439-440). Visual artists in Cyprus have so far relied on the understanding that the system would support them in their work by employing them as teachers. In the current climate, the prospects for younger visual artists in Cyprus are limited in this respect. They no longer have the opportunity, which many consider a luxury, to teach in the public education system because of the scarcity of available positions.

As a result, a number of visual artists teach art privately in their studios. Some artists have conceded that they chose teaching privately for the greater financial security it promises over the uncertainty of an artist's career, while still maintaining their independence. One artist asserted that she started an art school of her own, which she maintains while working on her own practice; since teaching only takes up two days a week, she can focus more on her practice while being "a bit more financially independent" (I012, 103-105). Regarding their experience in the private field, visual artists supported that teaching privately provides them with a flexible working arrangement in terms of time allocated to artistic work. One artist maintained: "School has rules, public school that is. My own school doesn't have rules, it has my own rules, which means that I determine the hours I work, I have my own schedule, and it is a lot more flexible" (I018, 170-172). They believe that this arrangement

gives them the autonomy and freedom which is lacking from the public education system. In addition, a number of visual artists with postgraduate and doctorate degrees (specifically, seven artists in this study) teach in higher education institutions on either a full-time or part-time basis, stating similar reasons.

Menger (2003: 18) envisaged that 'side labour markets', by which he meant occupations which are a secondary choice for many artists (such as teaching), may have "inflationary effects"; they indirectly "exacerbate the already large burgeoning artist population" (Abbing, 2002: 145) because they shelter artists from occupational risks. The issue until recently had been that teaching in the public education system was no longer a viable option. There is currently an increasing number of visual artists teaching privately and in higher education institutions. Are these temporary solutions, bound by the same "self-congesting spiral of oversupply" (Menger, 2003: 18) evidenced in the public education system?

It should be noted that all visual artists interviewed continue to work on their creative practice while teaching or working as curators, art writers, costume designers or photographers. Most teaching artists considered themselves as entwining two identities- the teaching artist and the professional artist, often with the latter prevailing. One of the young visual artists considered her personal work to be "the most important part of [herself], rather than the fact that [she] teaches". She asserted that she would always consider herself an artist rather than an art teacher (I012, 153-155). The majority of artists in this study identified themselves first and foremost as visual artists; whilst they

consider teaching a necessity, it is valued less than their artistic outputs. One artist maintained: "I have time left to do my art, which is more important [...] when I put the two together I consider it [art] more important, from what I offer, or what I can offer in education" (I007, 227-230). Other artists concurred that their art practice takes precedence over their roles as teachers and mentally and emotionally compartmentalise their life, distinguishing between their work and their profession: "I left my job, I went home, closed everything else, and I was the engraver. I did exactly the same thing in education, I left from school, I came home and I was the engraver" (I010, 178-181). This point is underscored by the fact that the majority of visual artists who teach consider teaching to be a secondary job, even if it is their primary source of income.

In his analysis of identity building in the postmodern society, Bauman (1998: 28) reflected on the traditional paradigm for identity formation; this described identity as being steady, consistent and with clear, unwavering parameters. In the postmodern world, "the prospect of constructing a lifelong identity on the foundation of work is, for the great majority of people [...] dead and buried" because a "steady, durable and continuous, logically coherent and tightly structured working career is [...] no longer a widely available option" (ibid). Bauman's suggestion to speak of identity in the plural seems antithetical to artists' views; in their majority, artists find it challenging to embrace the multiplicity of their occupational identity. Instead, the findings suggest that their occupational identity is interlinked with their artistic identity.

However, examining the language and wording that artists use to justify their decision to teach, it is deduced that, for most, their choice to follow a career in education came before their need to. The subjunctive term 'would' was used to create unreal conditional verb forms and utilised here to indicate the consequence of an assumption. For example, one visual artist remarked that had he not gone into art education, he "would have pressures, economic pressures to live" (I010, 226) while another explained that "it would bother [her] a lot if [she] were obligated to produce a lot of work [for the market]" (I012, 151-152). Another example is a female visual artist who stated: "I think that if I didn't teach I wouldn't have the comfort of producing my own work. I would do something in order to sell, I would spend time doing work which isn't huge so that someone would buy it" (I025, 52-55). It is reiterated that the fear of financial insecurity commands that artists have a secondary form of employment that will provide a steady income and that artists choose to do so even before they embark on their artistic careers, rather than face any financial difficulties. Their interest in a profession in education can be evidenced by their decisions to acquire higher professional qualifications which would allow them to teach, should they want to. It can be deduced that artists' multiple job-holding does not necessarily reflect distress or compromise but, rather, an educated choice.

Visual artists value their positions as teachers because of the financial security it offers them. As an extension of this financial independence, they have the freedom to develop their artistic practice with no material expectations from it. A number of artists, interestingly those who teach, shared this point of view:

> [Teaching] keeps me from having to produce work that puts bread on the table. I can take a commission if I like, I can sell work if I like but I don't have to. I teach and I support myself by teaching so I can do experimental work, I can do weird things that no one [.] I can build a radio in a gallery and call it a drawing, and it doesn't piss anybody off because, you know, nobody is trying to sell it. (I015, 335-339)

Compared to visual artists pursuing only their immediate creative practice, teaching artists considered themselves more artistically credible because their creativity is divorced from any utilitarian function. They affirmed that the works of art they produce are valuable because they are uncompromised from commercial pursuits. Conversely, they believe that artists "who decided to do art exclusively [...] need to do some compromises with their art. For example, do things which are understandable or likable to the public in order to sell their work and sustain their practice" (I020, 157-160). Teaching artists do not have to compromise the integrity of their work for material rewards and profess to be selflessly devoted to their art. Abbing (2002: 146) suggested that financial independence means that artists can afford to be 'selfless' and to dedicate themselves to their art: "they usually earn very little directly from their own art, but because they have well paid second jobs they don't need to". What do teaching artists gain by maintaining this selfless persona? And how does this affect their professional status? Abbing (2002: 81) indicated that "if artists were not totally dedicated to art and would make commercial compromises, as ordinary mortals do, it would diminish the status of art". The myth surrounding the arts would be compromised.

Equally, those visual artists interviewed who choose to focus exclusively on their art practice, ferociously believe that their art is purer, untainted by the constraints and limitations of secondary occupations. They exhibit total

dedication to their art and are hence, 'truly selfless'. Accordingly, they perceived their work to differ from that of teaching artists. Although they dismissed the persistent stereotype of the teacher as someone who teaches because they are 'not good enough' to be a full-time artist (Rush, 1995: 22), they still denied the art education field because it does not prioritise the development of a personal, professional body of artwork. Based on what a number of teaching artists have said, there might be grounds for this discernment. One visual artist, who teaches full-time at one of Cyprus' Universities, stated that: "It would be nice to work part-time and work only once a week; if I did, that would be ok but the everyday teaching absorbs all my energy, to a great extent. I would like not to teach to be honest" (I025, 179-181). The artist continues to create and exhibit her work, and considers teaching to be essential for financial viability, but acknowledged the toll it has had on her practice. In practical terms, the time an artist spends on non-artistic work necessarily detracts from the time they have to experiment, produce and promote their artwork. A number of teaching artists acknowledged that teaching is not only time consuming but demands a lot of energy which is often detrimental to their practice; still, most of them choose to overlook this reality. As Bain (2004: 46) asserted, "one of the most pronounced tensions that exist for artists is the pressure to consume the myth of devotion to art in the face of the necessity to obtain secondary employment". Perhaps it is why visual artists view their artistic identity as an important part of their personal identity- because they consider their 'secondary employment' as a threat to their identity and their status.

Whether they taught or not, visual artists believed that their collaboration with galleries relieves them of many commercial distractions (I019, 118). Artists do not need to promote their own work or search for a buying public. Gallery directors earn a living from the commission they receive by selling the artist's work; that commission is the outcome of the gallery's efforts to promote the artist. They maintained that gallery directors assume most responsibilities so that the artist is given the opportunity "to devote himself to his work without having to deal with procedural and bureaucratic things" (AS07, 86-89). The myth surrounding the 'sanctity' of the arts remains uncompromised. It appears to be a relationship of mutual convenience. But it is also a commercial one.

Nevertheless, both artists and gallery directors have stated that their relationship is not formalised with signed contracts. The most interesting statements were made by gallery directors who retained the belief that their collaborations are based on reciprocal trust: "Contracts are made to be broken. And I don't want to build our relationship on a contract. I believe in them, I trust them, they trust me, there are some written terms so that we don't forget how we operate which are not legally binding" (AS09, 204-208). Another maintained: "There is a contract of some sort, it's not like you sign papers, but it is a contact of trust, and you build this relationship with the artist" (AS07, 65-66). These assertions reflect the personal relationship between artists and gallery directors but also the vagueness of their agreements. Reutter (2001: 129) pointed out that the general dislike of formalities is characteristic of the artworld but that these elements are rarely found elsewhere in the business world. He also indicated that artists and

gallery directors may only pretend not to have any contracts (ibid). Suppose they do, why would they be reluctant to divulge the information? Does the perception that their relationship is based on a patina of gentility fit better with the myth? It is also possible that because both the artist and the gallery director subscribe to the myth, they believe it is superfluous to discuss, and formalise, the financial mechanics of their relationship. But the latitude afforded to gallery directors as a result might be the source of artists' acrimony. Without 'reducing' their agreement to writing, it is inevitable that some of the expectations they maintain will remain unrevealed. Ultimately, it seems that in their effort to preserve the myth, visual artists encounter difficulties in moving forward with their professional practice.

This part of the chapter examined the myth of the artist and discussed its various elements, but the question of how exactly they are perpetuated and why, is still unanswered. In the next section, an adapted theoretical model for reverse culture shock is developed which attempts to resolve these questions, combining issues that are connected to artistic identity and the formation of myth.

5.4. Developing an Understanding of Artists' Experiences

5.4.1. Culture Shock and Culture Shock in Reverse

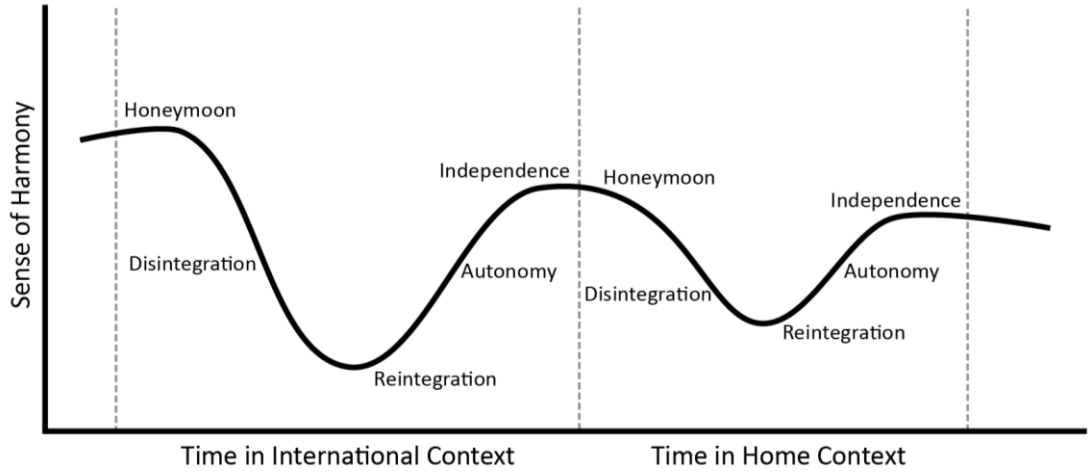
As examined in the previous two parts of this chapter, there are many similarities between visual artists in Cyprus and their colleagues in other countries of the world. However, a very distinct feature of artists in Cyprus is that until recently, they have had to travel to educational institutions abroad in order to obtain an education in the arts, as there has been no tradition of art academies on the island. Still, the majority of visual artists interviewed returned to Cyprus soon after their studies, with some exceptions of artists who had stayed abroad for longer. Concurrently, while back in their home environment, they maintain professional links abroad and continue to participate in further training programmes, conferences, residencies and international exhibitions. Research has demonstrated that when they return to Cyprus after a considerable amount of time abroad, visual artists experience a readjustment period, similar to a 'reverse cultural shock' (Adler, 1981; Austin, 1986; Christofi and Thompson, 2007; Macionis and Gerber, 2010; Martin, 1986; Oberg, 2009; Zapf, 1991). Researchers suggested that this experience is ephemeral and that some form of cultural transformation should occur as a result (Boden and Kippers, 2012: 325). In the case of Cypriot visual artists, the experience is short-lived, recurring and triggered by their repeated contact with countries abroad.

Shock may be defined as a feeling of disturbed surprise, resulting from an often sudden or upsetting experience (Stevenson, 2010: 1645). The experience of 'culture shock', a term coined by Kalvero Oberg (1960), differs slightly; it occurs when individuals become immersed in a culture different from their

own and was described as “the anxiety that results from losing all familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse” (ibid: 177). It is described as an unavoidable transitional experience into a new cultural environment and linked with cultural fatigue, language shock, confusion of identity and role, as well as pervasive ambiguity in regards to the cultural differences observed (Petersen, 1995: 2). It is argued that once the individual becomes “socially and linguistically capable”, they create meaning for situations, and cultural differences are enjoyed and accepted (Irwin, 2007: 3).

Researchers in the fields of sociology (Adler, 1981), cultural communication (Martin and Harrell, 2004), and psychology (Christofi and Thompson, 2006) have also studied the experiences of individuals re-adjusting, re-acculturating and re-assimilating into their home culture after living abroad for a certain period of time, using the term ‘reverse culture shock’ to explain it. These experiences are considered to be “temporal psychological difficulties” (Uehara, 1986: 420), precipitated by the loss of familiar cues, which individuals do not expect when returning home. Christofi and Thompson (2006: 23) argued that particularly students returning home struggle with an internal shock to their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours, since they first go abroad at the peak of their developmental period for establishing these behavioural systems. In addition, Black et al (1992: 221) claimed that business people experience the culture shock of going home more vividly than when going overseas for work because their experiences abroad cause unexpected fundamental change. This feeling or experience is considered worthy of investigation in this thesis because it seems to influence artists’ life and career decisions.

Figure 6: 'W-Curve' model of adjustment to new culture and re-entry to home culture based on Adler (1975) and Gullahorn & Gullahorn (1963)



Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963: 37) study was the first to look at reverse culture shock as part of the adjustment process and broadened the previous U-curve (Oberg, 1960: 79), which described the stages of adjustment to a host culture, to create a W-curve which included further stages of re-adjustment to the country of origin, analogous to the initial experience (Figure 6). Based on Oberg's work, Adler (1975: 16) developed a five stage model of the culture shock experience.

In the beginning of one's experience abroad, the honeymoon stage, an individual displays curiosity and excitement as a detached tourist. Petersen (1995: 3) asserted that at this stage the person's identity is rooted in their home culture. Shortly after the initial euphoria, the differences between their home and host culture become more evident. The second stage, disintegration, is marked by a period of confusion and disorientation caused by one's inability to interact with the new culture in a meaningful way. The

common emotions experienced during this stage are tension, depression, confusion, and withdrawal. Reintegration, the third stage of culture shock, is characterised by the sharp rejection of the host culture. The anger and hostility which were directed inward during the previous stage are now directed on others, often their host culture. Gradually, it is assumed that individuals reach the fourth stage, autonomy, and recognise positive and negative elements in both cultures. This balanced perspective helps the individual establish a new perspective of the new culture, becoming more self-confident and self-assured. According to the model, the final stage is characterised by a restored sense of well-being; the individual accepts the new culture and potentially overcomes culture shock.

A further phase, reverse culture shock, occurs when the individual re-enters their home culture and experiences a similar sequence; the shock in this case is often unexpected. Individuals stereotype people of their home culture and generalise their behaviour and attitudes (Petersen, 1995: 198). Then, theoretically, individuals feel increasingly more comfortable in their home country and become culturally readjusted. Petersen (1995: 1) argued that culture shock- and its reverse- can stimulate the process of self reflection and personal growth, leading to expanded awareness and adaptation to multiple cultures. Parton (2007: 33) stated that the timeframe of this experience is contingent on specific variables such as the cultural similarity between the foreign and home cultures, the activity and the length of time abroad, the personality of sojourners, as well as the nature of interpersonal relationships.

5.4.2. Visual Artists in Cyprus and Reverse Culture Shock

Visual artists described their experiences of studying abroad, returning home and their participation in further training programmes, conferences, residencies and international exhibitions. These experiences were described primarily by comparing Cyprus to the countries in which they had been. They explained how they felt conflicted and uncomfortable with their situation. This section examines the structure of visual artists' experiences in relation to the concept of reverse culture shock. As it was not part of the initial investigation, there is no explicit data to support the culture shock that visual artists most likely experience during their time abroad; however, the reverse cultural shock which is experienced by artists returning to Cyprus, presupposes the initial change.

The initial stages of re-acculturation, experienced by visual artists returning to Cyprus, are important in this study. As a result of their immediate need to re-adjust, a number of artists record a very brief, and often inconsequential, honeymoon period. In some cases, the honeymoon phase appeared to be omitted and disintegration set in almost immediately. One artist, who had been living abroad for 15 years, stated that "a lot of things are absolutely new to [him]" and that he had experienced trouble adapting (I022, 71). He explained that, while residing abroad, he only went to Cyprus on short vacations and had inevitably lost contact with the artist community there; this factor appears to have contributed to a more significant impact of reverse culture shock.

Another artist explained that she was appointed to teach art in a public high school only two days after returning from her postgraduate studies abroad. Comparing Cyprus to Holland, where she lived, she stated that in Holland "things are totally different and people [are] much more open", admitting that she "liked the people and their way of life" (I009, 220-222). The artist elucidated that she initially experienced shock when she returned to Cyprus: "When I came back to Cyprus I was horrified [...] I came to Cyprus and I blamed Cyprus" (I009, 223-225). Allocating blame is a common characteristic of the reintegration stage in the reverse culture shock theory. The artist referred to herself as someone who "came from outer space" (I009, 254), alienated in her home; similarly, Oberg (1960: 142) used the idiom "like a fish out of water" to describe an individual's experience at the disintegration stage. When she returned, she had "dreadlocks in [her] hair, baggy pants and earrings" and due to her appearance and the way people faced her, she "struggled during [her] first year in Cyprus" (I009, 256-259). The majority of artists interviewed appeared to be in this indeterminate state of discomfort in their home culture, and frequently compared Cyprus to the countries where they had travelled or lived.

A number of artists have reached the stage of autonomy; they seemed to possess a level of understanding and the disposition necessary to reflect on their situation and gradually began to adjust to their home culture. One artist affirmed: "I realised that it is not Cyprus to blame, it's what we carry with us a lot of the time" (I009, 225). Another artist explained how his art practice "was also like medicine", helping him through the process of re-adjusting by reframing his point of view and focus (I002, 115-117). An essential part of the

cultural adaptation process is reflective thinking, a method commonly linked with Mezirow's theory of 'transformative learning'. Mezirow (1997: 7) argued that an individual transforms their frame of reference through "critical reflection on the assumptions upon which interpretations, beliefs, and habits of mind or points of view are based". He created the link with cultural adaptation, asserting that as a result of critical reflection, the individual may become more tolerant or more accepting of their home culture. This transformation can occur indefinitely as artists travel and become exposed to multiple cultures; theoretically, at some point, their world views and perspectives become stabilised.

Visual artists experiencing this change believe that the process of readjustment is slow (I013, 180-182) but in isolated cases there is evidence for it. After undergoing the initial detachment, then the growing hostility and later the pronounced tolerance of her home culture, one artist appears to have reached the peak of her cultural adjustment. Acceptance of her home culture restored the artist's sense of well-being, seemingly overcoming the culture shock: "I do not feel disappointed that I live in Cyprus anymore. […] right now as we speak I feel good to be here […] I can live in Cyprus, and create [here]" (I009, 225-229). The artist has now been in Cyprus for a significant period of time and suggested that she has now re-assimilated to her home culture. A younger artist, having decided to stay in Cyprus rather than return for further education abroad stated that he does not have "tendencies to flee" and is "interested in creating in this place and living here" (I024, 165-168). On further assessment, it is observed that, despite their apparent adjustment, in

other parts of their interview, artists still exhibit signs of disappointment (I009, 184-186; I001, 93).

Petersen (1995: 3) affirmed that it is controversial whether the final stage can be achieved or whether it is "an unreachable ideal" because an individual's identity is "temporary, fluid, and ever changing" (Bagnall, 2012: 182). It may therefore be immaterial to posit that this stage can be achieved since the artists and their home culture are constantly changing. However, referring to her sense of identity, one artist stated that "[she is] in a place where [she is] both inside and outside" (I001, 86). She considered herself to be a European artist (I001, 106), evoking both her Cypriot and European artistic identity, arguably reaching the final stage of reverse culture shock. It seemed that both identities coexisted peacefully and equitably. If visual artists can accept the duality of their national identity, why do they refuse to embrace the plurality of their professional identity?

5.4.3. An Adapted Conceptual Framework for Reverse Culture Shock

The current model for re-acculturation seems to be insufficient to interpret visual artists' experiences of returning to Cyprus. At the outset, this study did not find support for an initial honeymoon stage; instead, for the majority of visual artists, disintegration sets in almost immediately. The research also suggests that artists have not reached the independence stage in the reverse culture shock theory either; since they travel abroad regularly, they do not experience all the adjustment stages before the cycle is repeated. It could be argued that fixed between the second and third stage of the experience

(disintegration and reintegration), artists reaffirm the negative emotions and views they have of home, while constructing a myth of the countries to which they have travelled.

As illustrated in this chapter, the personal and professional identity of visual artists is validated by the status and prestige awarded to them through their university education and by the recognition gained through further training, residencies and exhibitions abroad. Returning to Cyprus, visual artists are confronted by a reality which is incongruent to their expectations. As the previous chapter has already examined, artists return to Cyprus anticipating positive encounters with the surrounding environment, and a support system to encourage and assist their artistic endeavours. With that missing, visual artists experience a deep challenge to their sense of belonging, isolating themselves from others; again, this reaffirms the romantic notion of the physically and culturally marginalised creative genius. This form of reverse culture shock is understood as another challenge to their identity, instigated from an inability to meaningfully interact with the home culture upon their return, and precipitated by the repetition of these negative experiences.

The adapted theoretical model proposed is a four-phase process of development, consisting of the following stages: re-exposure, cultural comparison, separation and acceptance. Examining the structure of visual artists' reverse cultural shock experience, it is argued that these cannot be considered stepped stages as the process is not always rigidly sequential; as a number of visual artists encounter difficulties in their life and work, they may regress to previous phases or omit part of the process. This model redefines

the phases of reverse culture shock in order to better interpret the experiences of visual artists in Cyprus and suggests that this process is repetitive and recurring, as explained below:

Re-exposure: Visual artists return to Cyprus having formed unrealistic expectations of their home culture during their time abroad. The disparity between these expectations and the experiences of acculturating individuals, are associated with elevated levels of discontent and disappointment. This phase is also characterised by a sense of loss as artists realise that the social status they enjoyed in the country to which they had travelled is not recognised in Cyprus.

Cultural comparison: The majority of visual artists made constant comparisons between Cyprus and other countries. They referred to a lack of, and their desire to have, a support system which can encourage and assist them and their practice; artists were convinced that the support systems in other countries, especially those in Northern Europe, Germany and France, are highly developed and distinctly better than the system in Cyprus. At this stage, artists use embellished and often anecdotal evidence from their experiences abroad to justify their position.

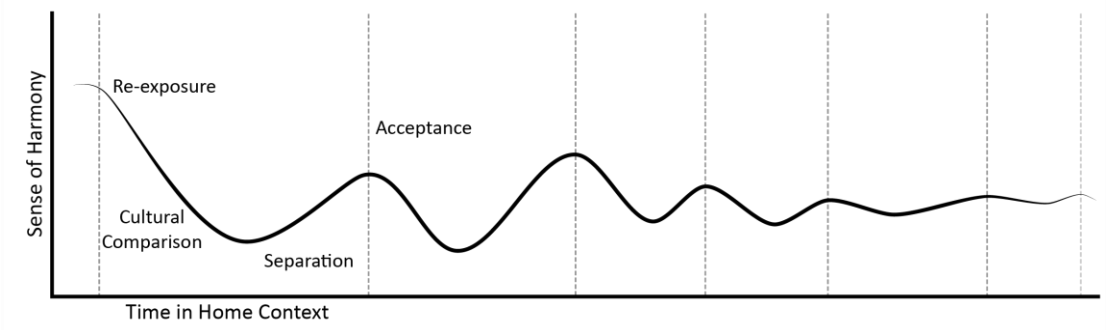
Separation: This phase usually succeeds the cultural comparison phase but the two are sometimes concurrent. While a number of visual artists described their observations about the differences between the countries, some expressed strong criticism of their situation in Cyprus. In this phase, visual artists most commonly use the auxiliary verb ‘should’ to indicate the obligation or responsibility of a creative infrastructure. For example, artists

stated that "the state *should* comprehend some elements of the artist's profession, and the social insurance system *should* also [emphasis added]" (I019, 180-181); "there *should* be a regulation for this [emphasis added]" (I007, 169-170); and "I believe E.KA.TE. *should* have supported me, since I am a new artist and I want to do something abroad [emphasis added]" (I012, 387-389). In addition, it shares characteristics with the reintegration phase, where individuals tend to blame their home culture for their adjustment issues. Many are unable to accept aspects of Cyprus' culture after returning from a different setting; instead they create an idealistic portrait of Cyprus and insist that the situation should meet their expectations.

Acceptance: Assuming that visual artists do not go abroad again before they progress to this stage, it is asserted that through personal reflection artists are able to provide themselves with internal validation. In contrast to Adler's (1975: 16) theory that individuals eventually learn to socially integrate in the new culture, the research shows that visual artists may achieve a state of harmony while in isolation. It is argued that some participants create 'reality' in their own way; rather than fully assimilating in their home culture they distinguish themselves as individuals who do not adhere to a specific culture. Only a few participants have reached this phase. Instead, the majority of visual artists go abroad again, repeating these phases when they return. In the literature it is argued that if these experiences happen repeatedly, "it can lead to a transformation by accretion in our governing habit of mind" (Mezirow, 1997: 7). However, this research suggests that visual artists' repetition of these experiences reaffirms their negative perceptions of their home culture and

hinders their ability to fully assimilate. Figure 7 illustrates how this adapted conceptual framework is imagined.

Figure 7: Adapted Conceptual Framework for Reverse Culture Shock



As the 'model' suggests, the duration and intensity of these phases fluctuate according to a number of variables; individuals experience reverse culture shock depending on personality characteristics such as personal background, age, gender and character (Martin, 1984: 120). It is also contingent on variables such as the cultural similarity between the foreign and home cultures, the activity and the length of time abroad, as well as the nature of interpersonal relationships (Parton, 2007: 33). It is also possible to hypothesise that the reverse culture shock that visual artist experience when they return to Cyprus, relates to the intensity or duration of the culture shock they potentially experienced while abroad. There are probably countless variables affecting these experiences. It is also possible that this model is not applicable in all cases because, unavoidably, it does not incorporate all the details of this phenomenon. In addition, the term currently used to describe the experience has its own issues as the changes in artists' emotional states are seldom as dramatic as the term implies. There are a number of limitations

with models, especially those focusing on human experiences and behaviour. A model is only “an abbreviated depiction of an excerpt of reality based on abstraction and idealisation” (Schmidt, 2000: 19). It provides useful and usable insights but it is not meant to be perfect.

5.5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has analysed the ontological dimensions of visual artists in Cyprus. Particularly, it has focused on their personal narratives and how they perceive their own identity. In the beginning of the chapter, a number of definitions widely utilised within the artworld and amongst researchers were examined, and artists' perspectives were discussed; they related to the organisational structure of the visual arts system and the institutions which influence it. These institutions are the public art museums, the visual arts market and the world of visual arts discourse, which demarcate the contours of the visual arts profession. However, many of the principles or standards used to classify the artist are considered limiting by them because they do not reflect their relationship to their art practice. Instead, artists favoured traditional and historical definitions which related to their ability to express their own emotions in a work of art, their aptitude to communicate complex meaning and thought, and their capacity to imagine and propose 'new worlds'. This language was found to be common amongst artists of all disciplines but perhaps too obscure to have any practical value. Nevertheless, these beliefs, which form the foundations of the artist myth, were considered to be important to the artist's sense of self. Artists posited that the 'existential satisfaction' that derives from creating works of art, fuels their career ambitions. This suggests that perhaps there is a correlation between artistic identity and personal identity, and between artistic identity and artistic careers.

The second part of this chapter argued that the challenge of constructing an artistic identity is met through the reproduction of the myth of the artist.

Every profession has its share of myth; that is because each individual seeks to portray seemingly scattered experiences with a sense of coherence which adds meaning to their lives. Analogously, visual artists create a narrative of the self, tacitly composed over the course of their lives. It is a synthetic integration of the past (as it is remembered), the present (as it is currently perceived) and the future (as one anticipates it to be). In moments of insight, parts of the story become conscious and motifs they had believed to be trivial appear to be self-defining. Taken together, these invented narratives and idealised perspectives become symbols of collective identification.

The myth of the artist was further deconstructed, to unfold the notions perpetuated about the artist over time; their ambivalent role and the stereotypes formed regarding the artistic personality were examined. The visual artist as an innately talented individual, passionate in their work, independent and isolated from the world, temperamental and selflessly devoted to art, the producer of unique and sublime works of art which are divorced from any utilitarian or commercial values, continues to be the prevalent image of the artist in Cyprus today. It was the subject of sustained reflection throughout this chapter. But the myth, which has been "embellished by critics, writers, patrons and popular opinion as well as the artists themselves" (Sturgis et al., 2006: 4), was found to be neither steady nor consistent.

The chapter also explored the tensions and contradictions which surface when visual artists seek secondary employment out of necessity. It was found that a number of artists experienced a pronounced shock to the idealised version of

themselves, caused by the pressure to consume the myth of devotion to art in countenance to the pursuit of financial stability. While it might have become common in other countries for artists to embrace the plurality of artistic identities, accepting the fact that visual artists can also be marketers of their own work, entrepreneurs, curators, educators etc, for artists in Cyprus the concept is engaging in theory but a challenge to embrace.

In the third part of this chapter, an adapted theoretical model for reverse culture shock was proposed, associating it with issues that were linked to artistic identity and the consumption of the myth. It was argued that the personal and professional identity of visual artists is validated by the status and prestige awarded to them through their university education and by the recognition gained through further training, residencies and exhibitions abroad. When artists return to Cyprus, they are confronted by a reality which is incongruent to their expectations. The findings have shown that artists anticipate positive encounters with the surrounding environment and a support system to encourage and assist their artistic endeavours; with those missing, they experience a deep challenge to their sense of belonging, isolating themselves from others; this further affirms the romantic notion of the culturally marginalised creative genius who withdrew from the limelight to stay true to their vision. This repertoire exaggerates their negative view of their home environment. These findings enhance our understanding of artistic identity and its relationship to artists' living and working situation and suggest that artistic identity may relate to the development of artists' careers.

6. Visual Artists' Careers in Cyprus

6.1. Introduction

A central interest of this study has been how visual artists in Cyprus reflect on and interpret their experiences of becoming and being artists. The participants expressed these experiences through a narrative framework that provided a sense of continuity to otherwise isolated events. This narrative led them to conclude that their career development was directed by these experiences. In this sense, it is possible to imagine the concept of the 'artistic career' as a variable consolidation of events and encounters that contribute to the artist's advancement over time. This denotes that career trajectories, which are the paths that connect career aspirations with career progression, are composite and unique to the individual.

Chapter Four critically reviewed the public and private policies and practices that directly or indirectly influence artistic activity and visual artists' living and working conditions, while in Chapter Five the focus shifted to the concept of artistic identity. Visual artists' perceptions of the self were examined with emphasis on how these influence their relationship to the profession. This chapter investigates the complex and heterogeneous nature of artists' careers more closely, bringing together the concepts of artistic identity, artistic quality and artists' conception of their professional development, some aspects of which were explored in the previous two chapters. It subsequently develops a theoretical framework that conceptualises and illustrates the career development of visual artists living and working in Cyprus.

6.2. Career Development and Career Trajectories

6.2.1. The Career Trajectories of Individual Visual Artists

The focus of this section is on how visual artists subjectively and retrospectively reconstruct the narrative of their career trajectories. Three examples have been chosen to illustrate how artists portray specific life events, how they evaluate particular professional decisions and how they consider the relationship between their professional careers and other aspects of their lives. In the discussion that follows the three narratives, I examine how the trajectories differ, but also begin to unpack the common characteristics that form the basis of artists' careers.

Example One

The analysis of one of the artists' narratives, examined more closely in these paragraphs, reveals a trajectory that began with very early life experiences. This artist traced his inclination towards art to his childhood years, when in primary school he drew the portrait of a historical figure from one of his books. In hindsight though, he believes that he was born with a talent for art (I019, 14). Although financially difficult, he started to buy his first palette, one tube per week, when he was 13 years old. At the age of 15 he started to work systematically in preparation for art school because he knew that he wanted to become a visual artist. With great risk, he made the decision to transfer to a technical high school, in hope that he would gain a better arts education. The artist noted that this decision shows how intensely passionate he must have been for art (I019, 24). By various coincidences, as a young aspiring artist he received private art lessons from an older, reputable artist who lived in his family's neighbourhood. Stressing the learning capacities of the art education

he received, the artist remarked: “It wasn’t about the lessons themselves [...] the important thing was having someone to appreciate you, to push you” (I019, 35). In retrospect, the artist believes that the benefit of working under the supervision of an artist was that he received great encouragement from him as well as early recognition.

After an unsuccessful attempt to gain entry to an art academy in France, the artist took the entrance exam for an art school in Romania, for which he was awarded a full scholarship. When he graduated, he applied for an opportunity for further studies in Paris and received a grant from the French government. These recognitions of merit strengthened the artist’s confidence in his abilities and his commitment to his art practice. The artist noted that being immersed in the university’s creative environment and working alongside other artists was also beneficial to his artistic development (I019, 55-56). Nonetheless, he described his postgraduate education as “free studies” because there was minimal supervision from the school (I019, 49). He was visited by his supervisor to discuss his development in the dedicated studio space he maintained outside the school premises, but he mainly worked independently. Retrospectively, he believes that the first year he spent in Paris was pivotal in his artistic career because of the networks he had established during his stay. Shortly after completing his postgraduate studies he returned to Cyprus and set up a workspace in an old outbuilding, but he maintained a studio in Paris as well; this way he could work in either country depending on his obligations and the exhibitions he was preparing for.

He had his first solo exhibition in Cyprus the year he returned; the commercial gallery that exhibited his work acted as his sole representative for over a decade, until it closed down (I019, 109). He mentioned that the gallery did "exceptional work" in promoting him while he focused on producing his art (I019, 115). He subsequently tried to cultivate similar relationships with other galleries he worked with but pointed out that he had better experiences working with commercial galleries abroad. These galleries were able to reach an international market for his work and his partnership with them led to further collaborations with other galleries and institutions abroad (I019, 133).

Beyond his solo activity and from early on in his career, the artist also participated in several group exhibitions in Cyprus, France, Germany and Belgium, maintaining a balance between commercial and non-commercial exhibitions of his work. He noted that his activity in Cyprus and abroad was first acknowledged by the state when he was chosen to represent Cyprus in the Venice Biennale; it was the first of many prominent international exhibitions he was chosen for in his career. He later received various grants and awards which seemed to propel his professional growth. Gradually, he exhibited in more noteworthy galleries and cultural institutions in Cyprus and abroad and his work was included in more prestigious collections.

The artist emphasised the fact that, shortly after he finished his studies, he became a member of the *Maison Des Artistes*, the largest association of visual artists in France. Through this affiliation, he was able to take advantage of the regulatory system there which allowed him to make social insurance contributions as an artist. He noted how important it was for him to be

recognised as a professional by an official authority and that this status was not acknowledged in Cyprus. He later became a member of E.KA.TE. until about seven years ago when he established the association of professional visual artists (Ei.Ka), whose activities were examined in Chapter Four (p.164). He stressed the personal efforts he has made, as a representative of the association, to improve the situation of visual artists in Cyprus but also discussed the difficulties of communicating with policy-makers and the responsibilities associated with managing the association's exhibition programme.

The artist's current artistic output appears to be multifaceted. Firstly, he consistently exhibits in commercial galleries in Cyprus and abroad, organising "an exhibition in Cyprus every 2-3 years, an exhibition in Athens every 2-3 years or in Switzerland, or Germany [.]". At the same time, he participates in exhibitions curated by cultural institutions and public galleries both nationally and internationally, which do not have a commercial intent. He also participates in large-scale international exhibitions and competitions, either representing Cyprus or by direct invitation from the organisers. Furthermore, the artist accepts commissions from private companies for site specific installations and large-scale sculptures, and competes for public commissions (I019, 69-76). He noted that he is able to effectively balance his activity in the field and that he makes enough income from his various artistic activities to sustain his practice.

Example Two

This visual artist is the youngest in the study; her career is still in its early phases short but her visibility in the contemporary art scene is increasing. Similar to other visual artists' developmental process, her early years were guided by a practicing artist who became her teacher and her mentor. The young artist commented: "it started from her; her way of life excited me" (I014, 17). However, although she was encouraged to pursue a career in the arts, she decided to start a degree in history of art instead because she considered it to be a safer career choice. The artist noted that during her first year on the course, she felt 'miserable' because she did not have the time and space to create; so during that year she acquired a studio space and began preparing a portfolio for art school (I014, 24). The artist identified this as a turning point in her development because it was when her passion for art became intensified and when she decided to dedicate her life in pursuing a career as an artist instead.

She mentioned that her art education helped her develop a critical, self-directed approach to her practice but did not consist of learning techniques and gaining practical art skills (I014, 40-44). In retrospect, she believes that her course did not adequately prepare her for an art career in Cyprus. When she returned after her studies, amidst the financial crisis, she was not immediately able to make a living from her art. She remarked that she did not have the confidence to teach art or the skills to work in other arts-related jobs so she was still financially reliant on her family.

Similar to other artists in the study, she felt the absence of an artist community with whom to discuss her work. She had not become a member of any association for visual artists because she was unsure on how to approach them. Instead, she created a blog where she wrote about current events in the art world and about her practice. Through her online activity, she was contacted by a gallery director in Cyprus, with whom she organised her first solo exhibition. He became her sole representative and according to the artist, "he was very supportive" and they had a "very nice and strong work relationship" (I014, 144-145). The gallery was also active in promoting her work abroad, by showcasing it in international art fairs. However, after the gallery closed down due to financial problems, the artist embarked on initiatives to exhibit her work in alternative spaces, such as empty storefronts and abandoned warehouses to enhance her visibility in the local art scene. She also noted that a prominent Cypriot collector had purchased one of her artworks from her first exhibition which was very positive for her; at the time of the interview she had been working on installing her sculptural piece for an exhibition of his art collection which was hosted by a cultural institution. However, the artist mentioned that she was still not able to make an adequate living from her art practice and that she benefited from the financial support of her family.

Example Three

The narrative of this artist began with an almost identical pattern as the previous two. The artist emphasised the fact that there was no one in his family circle with a proclivity towards the arts but that from a young age he "had this idea, a captivation for artists, for painters" (I007, 14-16). At some

point, he was told by teachers that he was talented and started to develop a stronger awareness of his abilities. Like the others, he decided from early on that he was going become an artist. He studied in the United Kingdom and Germany and spent some time in Spain before he returned to Cyprus. But instead of trying to assimilate to the new cultural environment, he searched for opportunities to leave again. He was awarded several grants which allowed him to participate in residencies abroad and was chosen to represent Cyprus at international biennales. The artist noted that he also participated in a number of group exhibitions in other countries, especially in the start of his career. Because of his travelling, he found it difficult to bond with the Cypriot artist community, but he created contacts with artists in the countries he travelled to.

At some point he was offered a position in the public education system in Cyprus and decided to accept it because he was facing some financial difficulties at the time. He explained that the steady income he receives from his occupation as a teacher allows him and his family to live comfortably. However, he had never imagined himself as a teacher; he had formed a conviction about “the free artist” so he described this choice as a shock to his artistic identity (I007, 51-55). He stressed the fact that he never gave up creating art and reaffirmed his dedication to his practice by noting several times that he has always functioned as a visual artist (I007, 54) and that he has always maintained a studio space (I007, 222-225). He went on to say that he has had several solo exhibitions in various commercial galleries in Cyprus and continues to participate in some group exhibitions in commercial galleries

abroad; although he exhibited with some more than once, he did not form an exclusive collaboration with any of them.

The artist was on E.KA.TE.'s organising committee for several years, "continuously fighting with Paphos' municipality etc, to persuade them to form a proper cultural policy infrastructure in Paphos" (I07, 100). He noted that he attempted to advise cultural officers on issues that concern artists, but suggested that the local authority did not respond to his indications, possibly because policy decisions are centralised. However, at the time of the interview, he was working on some artistic proposals that he hoped would be considered by the municipality. It seemed that his activity in the local visual arts scene was also multifaceted and diverse.

6.2.2. Determining Patterns in Artists' Trajectories

Although this artist is almost the same age as the first artist whose narrative was examined, their career experiences seem somewhat divergent. This visual artist's career trajectory shows that after he returned to Cyprus permanently, although he continued to produce and exhibit work in commercial galleries, cultural institutions and regional public galleries, his activity abroad decreased. He noted that his responsibilities at school and towards his family somewhat restricted the advancement of his art practice but that they have benefited his career in different ways- for example, since he already has a steady stream of income he can be a "free artist" and think a-commercially about his art (I007, 292-294). The artist continued to say that he always tries to achieve a balance between the time he devotes to art and his other obligations, but it is not always easy (I007, 238).

There seem to be distinct differences between the three narratives, especially regarding the moments which artists identified as turning-points. For example, for the first artist, a turning-point was when he realised that he wanted to become an artist and decided to change schools so that he could gain a better art education. The second artist identified her first sale to a prominent art collector as one of the turning-points in her career. These were critical moments that seemed to be precipitated by changes in perception or awareness. The three trajectories examined have other observable differences, owing to each artist's family influences, where they lived, their educational background, the access they had to training, the opportunities and encounters they had or missed, and possibly the artist's age and their historical context. In this sense, each artist's career development is unique and unpredictable as it depends on multiple variables and personal interpretations.

Nonetheless, these narratives, and those of the other twenty-three participants, appear to have noticeable similarities, to which the artists are perhaps incognisant. Their trajectories suggest that although their personal experiences may differ, there is a persistent pattern or a story that is common to most, if not all, artists in this sample. It starts with their early childhood experiences and the creative exploration of their 'talent', progresses through artists' endeavours to gain an art education, their artistic experimentations and their initial orientation in the artworld, and elaborates the interactions that are typical between artists and other individuals in the art sector. These commonalities imply that, at least to some extent, artists' careers are based on some norms. In the following sections I move beyond artists' individual narratives in order to form a more general understanding of visual artists'

careers that still acknowledges the diversity of their experiences and interactions.

6.3. Towards a Theoretical Framework of Artists' Career Development

A number of research studies have been concerned with mapping general patterns in artists' working lives, and have sought to determine a typical pathway within the profession. (Creative New Zealand, 2003; Hellmanzik, 2009; Jeffri, 1999; Lehman and Wickham, 2014; Martin, 2007; Throsby and Zednik, 2010). The models presented in these studies divided artists' careers into stages which begin from graduation to more or less the end of their life. As examined in the literature review, one study defined artists as either emerging, established or established but not working to full capacity (Creative New Zealand, 2003: 7), another distinguished between emerging or established artists only (Throsby and Zednik, 2010: 30), while Lehman and Wickham (2014: 3) grouped them into four smaller categories: unknown, emerging, established, and famous. The definitions of each stage bore considerable similarities amongst studies. Lehman and Wickham (2014: 3) elucidated that artists in the 'unknown' stage essentially have no reputation in the art market yet. 'Emerging' artists undertake specialised training in their field and strive for professional acceptance (Throsby and Zednik, 2010: 30). The 'established' stage connotes that artists have achieved a degree of commitment and a level of achievement in their discipline. According to Lehman and Wickham (2014: 3), during the 'famous' stage, "visual artists' reputations are inseparable from their output". These studies allow for a

significant degree of development and change within each stage and imply that career trajectories move linearly and in an upwardly forward direction.

At variance with other studies, Martin (2007) focused on the *transitions* between career stages, suggesting that artists' development occurs during these transitions. According to her research, these were dependent on a series of 'artistic tests' which mark and control how visual artists reach higher levels of legitimisation. She identified specific milestones that define an artist's progression from the early career stage to the established stage; the first milestone is reached when an artist receives a prestigious government grant and the second is achieved when the artist is able to procure a solo exhibition in a Parisian gallery (ibid: 26). Several 'smaller' tests need to be completed in order to reach those milestones but their accomplishment denotes that artists' profiles within the art market will have risen. Her study subsequently generated a visual depiction of artists' early career development to support her textual analysis. As the diagram in her study illustrates, visual artists advance their professional careers when they successfully pass these artistic tests (ibid: 22). Martin (2007: 26) therefore views career development in a way that is similar to other studies discussed above, and visualises this progression as upwardly dynamic and sequential, marked by some degree of irreversibility.

While each of these studies was undertaken within a different national context, they resulted in the identification of a comparable set of successive career stages, which suggests that there is significant merit in this model of thinking. Nonetheless, I sought to develop an approach that consolidates the concept of artistic career development with the contextual diversity observed

in the career trajectories of artists in this study, based on the theoretical perspective that guided my research into their working lives.

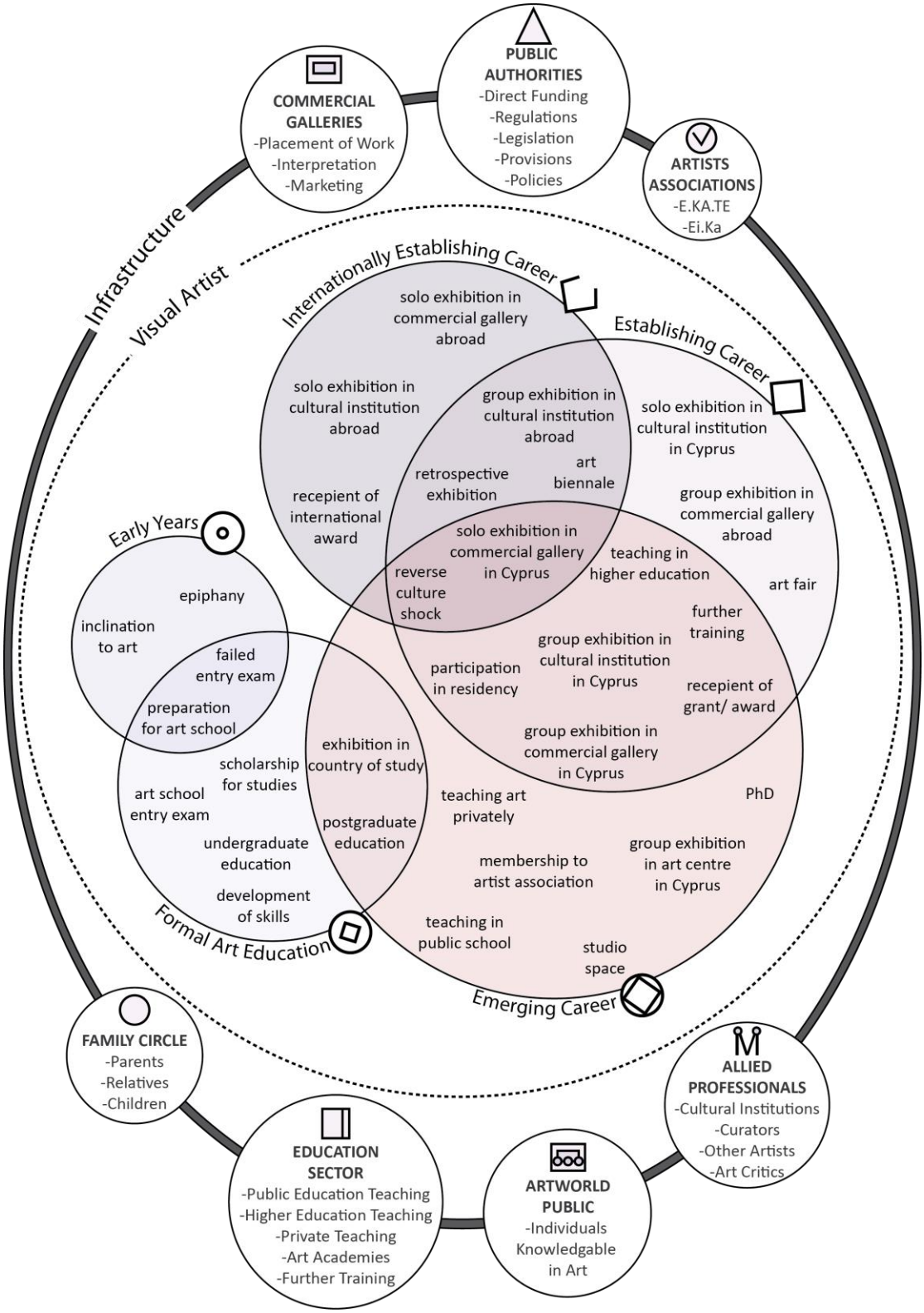
The theories of career development that are also informed by a constructivist perspective, view the concept as a complex, dynamic and evolving process (Chen, 2003; Kidd, 2004; Wise and Millward, 2005; Baruch, 2004). This way of thinking about career development "allows an understanding of career transition in a meaningful context, in terms of both temporal context (the sequence of events prior to the transition) and social context (the significant events and individuals influencing the change)" (Wise and Millward, 2005: 402). In the narratives that were explored in the previous section, artists described their experiences in relation to time and space, providing a context for their accounts; for example, they interpreted their experiences by referring to particular moments in their childhood which led to a turning-point in their careers and situated these events within a specific social, cultural and institutional environment where they interacted with other individuals such as their teachers, their peers etc. These idiosyncratic and partly unique characteristics of each artist's narrative, the similarities and motifs observed in their career trajectories as well as the beliefs artists share about what it means to be an artist, need to be better reflected in the concept of artistic careers. The complex interrelationship between these components has prompted the development of a theoretical framework for visual artists' careers.

In this study, visual artists' career development has been loosely divided into five phases which are considered to be composite and cumulative rather than

homogeneous and successive. The phases identified were: 'Early years', 'Formal art education', 'Career entry', 'Establishing career' and 'Establishing career internationally'. While previous research has approached the subject from a functional perspective, focusing on artists' lives after they obtain a degree, this study includes visual artists' early accounts of their experiences in the arts as the first phase in their development. This is because artists have emphasised how these early interactions influenced their artistic advancement. The framework developed also takes into account the combinations and interactions of various influences which artists alluded to in their narratives, such as their beliefs about what it means to be an artist (the 'artist myth') and the 'infrastructure' of services and resources with whom artists are in contact.

A visual representation of this theoretical framework can be seen in Figure 8. This composite diagram was generated in an attempt to visualise the fluctuant and heterogeneous nature of visual artists' careers as they have been described. In the proposed design, the visual artist is placed at the centre. Within this core, there is a set-diagram that illustrates the phases of artistic careers and indicates the possible relationships between them. As previously suggested, the events of each phase are unfixed, and are therefore shown somewhat scattered within each circle to reflect the idiosyncratic development of visual artists' careers in Cyprus. Arrayed around the centre there is an informally organised infrastructure whose components exert various influences over the artist's identity and career development. The proposed theoretical framework is further analysed in the following subsections.

Figure 8: Phases of Artistic Career Development



Early Years

The common story of the experience of becoming and being an artist that emerged from the collection of artists' narratives is examined through the five phases aforementioned. The findings of this study have shown that an early inclination to art was the most common theme in the childhood accounts of the visual artists interviewed. In their narratives, many of them mentioned that they had a parent, a close relative, or a neighbour who was an artist, and that they had encouraged their creativity. For others, a teacher from school stimulated their interest in the arts, or their parents ensured they obtained extracurricular art education, under the guidance of a teaching artist. It is suggested that individuals in this early phase are primarily influenced by these cordial elements in different ways, and that, collectively, they enable their initial contact with art.

During the interviews, artists recollected experiencing a moment of epiphany around this time, which reinforced their conviction in their abilities and strengthened their desire to study art. The memory of this occurrence subsequently adopted a new meaning: as the driving force of their creative development. The concept of epiphany and its connection to memory was explored in Chapter Five (p.211), where it was suggested that the strength they draw from it seems to support them in their systematic pursuit of a career in the arts.

Formal Art Education

The second phase encompasses the period of time during which aspiring artists engage in activities that prepare them for the artistic profession. The data suggests that when visual artists make the decision to study art, they spend a period of at least one year systematically preparing for art school. However, not all visual artists in this study had access to education programs outside the school and many felt that the training received in public schools was not sufficient to secure them a place in an art academy. For many, the absence of such provisions extends the period of time they need to build a portfolio. The findings suggest that they encounter the first 'official' barrier in the arts when they apply to art academies, some of which have very strict criteria of admittance. Two artists conceded that they were rejected more than once before they were offered a place. Overcoming this barrier is a significant achievement for artists because it confirms their belief that they belong in this field. Eventually, all artists in this sample had gone on to study art in higher education institutions abroad.

During their studies, they are able to develop their practical skills, gain knowledge of art theory and learn how to expand their way of thinking through constant self-evaluation. It has also been observed that artists tend toward self directed methods of learning; they work independently and spend a lot of time alone producing their work. As art students, they predominantly rely on individual supervision and peer support which they described as a contemplative, absorptive learning process with a strong constructive outcome. This mode of study might isolate artists more, making seclusion

standard practice, but artists believe that this method of learning affords them a high level of personal autonomy over their work. It also prepares them for the next phase in their development where they will have to work alone for long periods of time.

As previously noted, a number of artists go on to study at a postgraduate and doctorate level. After graduating, the majority of visual artists return to Cyprus within a year, with some exceptions of artists who stay abroad for longer. The study suggests that at this time, artists experience a reverse culture shock which is precipitated by the cultural differences they observe between Cyprus and the country where they had studied. The duration and intensity of this experience depends on a number of factors, both internal and external to the artist. It is further suggested that this experience influences subsequent career decisions; for example, artists may make the choice to obtain secondary employment.


Emerging Career

Several visual artists noted that the period of time after they graduate is important in their artistic development. It is when “everything starts” (I002, 119). After they obtained their degree, many of them were still financially dependent on their parents and suggested that their family’s support helped them maintain their creative momentum. Pashardes (2003: 68) observed that this kind of support is common amongst families in Mediterranean countries.

Artists at this phase experiment further and develop their personal artistic style before firmly establishing their role, medium and predictability in the art

scene. Most of them establish a studio space for their practice, which becomes a sign of status, commitment and belonging to the profession. Still, they have little critical acclaim beyond the veneration of their tutors and peers. They spend time building a reputation by participating in group exhibitions in art centres and galleries in Cyprus and abroad. Lehman and Wickham (2014: 12) also observed that at the 'emerging' stage of career development, "it was important for the visual artists to establish relationships with art galleries and to build their legitimacy and reputation through third-party endorsement of their work". The findings of this study suggest that artists often participate in several group shows before they are able to present a solo exhibition.

Concurrently, they apply for residencies abroad. These programmes last an average of three months and allow artists time to research, present, produce and reflect on their work away from their usual environment. At this stage of their development, residencies help artists contextualise their work and learn from their peers. Several of them stated that one of the reasons they participate in residencies is to learn how to use specialised equipment which they may not have access to domestically. It also seems to be a way for them to escape the isolation of the studio and socialise with other creative individuals. As the findings in Chapter Five suggested (p.243), returning to Cyprus after these experiences sometimes requires a period of adaptation.

The experiences of participating in group exhibitions and residency programmes enable artists to create links with professionals in the art market and interact with their peers. Although largely undiscovered still, these individuals are slowly becoming aware of the artist's presence in the field. This

is a critical phase in the artist's professional development. The informally organised infrastructure plays a significant role in propelling artists into the next phase.

It should be noted that during this time a number of artists become inclined to pursue employment in the education sector. Although most teaching artists try to compartmentalise their professional identities, arguably, secondary employment exerts powerful influences over one's artistic career development and becomes part of the process itself.

◇ Establishing Career

The obscure transition between the 'Career Entry' phase and the 'Establishing Career' phase is characterised by the growth of artists' networks, which continuously change form. During this time, visual artists pursue further training in their art form and create an extensive body of independent work. An opportunity for a solo exhibition with their regional gallery usually arises. Their work might be purchased by the Department of Cultural Services, although this is more often achieved with their second solo exhibition. Artists also participate in exhibitions organised by artists' associations and other cultural institutions. These non-commercial exhibitions are also important because of their legitimating power; artists try to strike a balance between the two. Their reputation amongst art critics, art galleries, curators and collectors strengthens over time and their work is exhibited in more noteworthy galleries and state museums.

A significant milestone in a Cypriot artist's career development is representing his/her country in a major international exhibition, such as a Biennale. These exhibitions present opportunities for artists to interact with a wider audience and to create contacts with actors in the international art market. In addition, by their own standards, an artist at this point in their career is probably represented by a reputable gallery and has had a significant number of solo shows. At a later stage, visual artists might also enjoy a retrospective exhibition of their work.


Establishing Career Internationally

Visual artists subsequently reach an advanced level of achievement, by sustaining a nationally and internationally recognised contribution to the discipline. Their work's value is reflected in the years of consistent sales, evidenced by their inclusion in renowned collections, confirmed by exhibitions of their work in museums and validated by their participation in international exhibitions and competitions. A number of artists interviewed asserted that to be considered an 'internationally established artist', one would need to break through national boundaries and would probably be based in a metropolis rather than a small Mediterranean island. By this measure, very few artists living and working in Cyprus could be considered 'internationally established' although several of the artists interviewed exhibit regularly nationally and internationally.

The analysis of these five phases suggests that artistic career development is a cumulative process. The transition from one phase to the next is not distinguished by a specific event or action, but rather by the artists' artistic

development and by increased acceptance and recognition in the artworld. Artists maintained that one opportunity often leads to the subsequent one and the endorsement from one legitimating body may lead to recognition by another. Although Martin (2007) made a similar observation about the role of legitimating bodies in the advancement of artists' careers, she wrote about a "predefined series of tests", which is not a concept supported by the findings in this study. At variance with her conclusions, these interactions are unspecified and they seem to be experienced differently by each individual.

A possible explanation for the differences observed between visual artists' career paths in Cyprus and young artists' career development in France may be found in the variations of the two samples. Martin's (2007: 19) hypothesis was that art school training determines an artists' entry into the market; her previous research supported that in French art schools "instruction is designed to prepare the artist for integration into the market [...] students are taught how to apply for grants, exhibit in art centres and, more broadly, promote their work to the legitimating bodies". Based on this premise, she interviewed artists who had graduated from three French art schools, all of whom received the same training and theoretically had equal access to the initial tests. It follows that the tests encountered in the French art market would be the same and accordingly, the career trajectories of these artists will bare considerable similarities, especially in the early stages. Conversely, visual artists interviewed for this study have diverse educational backgrounds; all of them had obtained a degree in the arts, but they had reached different levels of education and in diverse educational contexts. It can be deduced that

artists' career trajectories after they graduate will vary considerably. This heterogeneity needed to be reflected in the theoretical framework designed.

As individuals progress through the phases of their career, they also encounter "new problems, demands, challenges, responsibilities, and expectations, which in turn necessitate new choices and adjustments" (Jordaan and Heyde, 1979: 4). Several studies have sought to determine the possible factors inhibiting the progress of artists' professional careers. Throsby and Zednik (2010: 8) discussed how "lack of time to do creative work due to other responsibilities, lack of work opportunities and lack of financial return from creative practice", are hindrances to artistic development. Jeffri et al (1991: 20) maintained that the greatest disappointments artists had expressed were centred around financial concerns and lack of acceptance, specifically acceptance in the form of critical review; negative feedback from instructors, rejection from juried exhibits, loss of competitions and commissions as well as losses incurred from not selling their work, were considered to be inhibiting factors in the advancement of their careers. Conversely, the findings of this study show that although such experiences are not always positive, in retrospect, visual artists consider them to be catalytic to the development of their artistic practice and their career. In the previous chapter, I discussed how visual artists interpret difficult professional occurrences as challenges that can be overcome. They expressed a strong personal disposition towards 'persistence', 'tenacity of purpose', 'perseverance in the face of obstacles', 'ambition' and the 'desire to excel', and considered any external influences to be part of the developmental process. As such, the concept of career

development cannot be composed only of career phases but should incorporate the contextual factors that influence them.

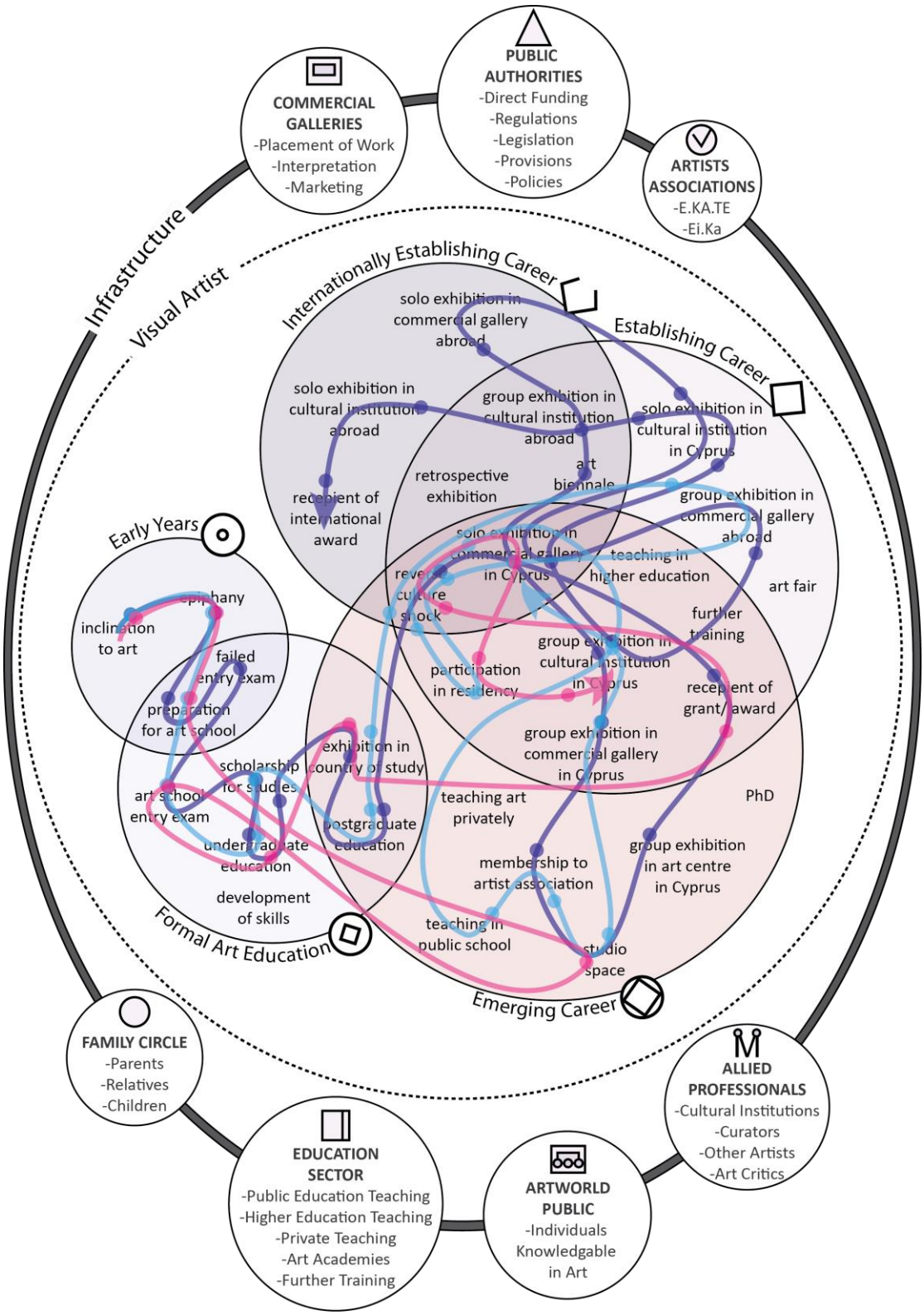
The findings of this study suggest that the main underlying structures and dynamics that influence visual artists as they pursue a career in their field can be grouped in seven broad concepts: the artist's Family Circle; the Education Sector that educates, trains and later employs them; the Public Authorities that affect the production, distribution and reception of artworks through their policies and practices; the Artists' Associations that can act as legitimating bodies and representatives of the standards of the profession; the Artworld Public that participates in the interpretation of the artwork; the Commercial Galleries that act as intermediaries of their work; and the Allied Professionals who may be other artists and curators with whom visual artists collaborate, critics or art writers who analyse, interpret and evaluate their work, cultural institutions which are perceived to be important in the process of legitimisation, as well as a variety of occupations and businesses that provide supplies, studio spaces and equipment to visual artists. The role of these components in artists' work lives was individually examined in Chapters Four and Five, but they were brought together in artists' individual narratives and in the career phases that were subsequently developed.

The components of this informally organised infrastructure are believed to be influenced by each other and by the wider political, social and cultural system within which they exist. In theory, this infrastructure is comparable to the 'creative infrastructure' proposed by Cherbo and Wyszomirski (2000: 14-18) when referring to public and private policies and practices that directly or

indirectly aid the development of artists and artistic activity. However, its components are specific to the visual arts system as it relates to visual artists in Cyprus. This study also found evidence to suggest that there is an international infrastructure, with similar components, that exerts various influences over an artist's career development. This could be visualised as a larger ring around the components in Figure 8.

Reflecting on visual artists' individual trajectories (from section 6.2., p.256) in relation to this theoretical framework makes it possible to visually depict their personal experiences within the art world. In Figure 9, artists' career trajectories are represented by curved lines moving through the phases of artistic careers, giving a reasonable estimate of their career progression. Visually, the trajectories of the three artists look very similar even though the artists are at different phases of their careers. The career trajectory of the first artist seems to correspond with all five career phases (Example One: I019 shown in purple). The second artist has a shorter career trajectory but her visibility in the contemporary art scene is increasing (Example Two: I014 shown in pink). The third artist's career seems to be deeply influenced by his auxiliary occupation and the difficulties he encounters when trying to balance his artistic activities and his teaching (Example Three: I007 shown in blue). Figure 9 visually depicts the short narratives from the beginning of the chapter and allows for visual comparisons to be made. Each artist's career trajectory is illustrated individually in Appendix 10.

Figure 9: The Career Trajectories of Three Visual Artists- I019 (purple), I014(pink) and I007(blue)



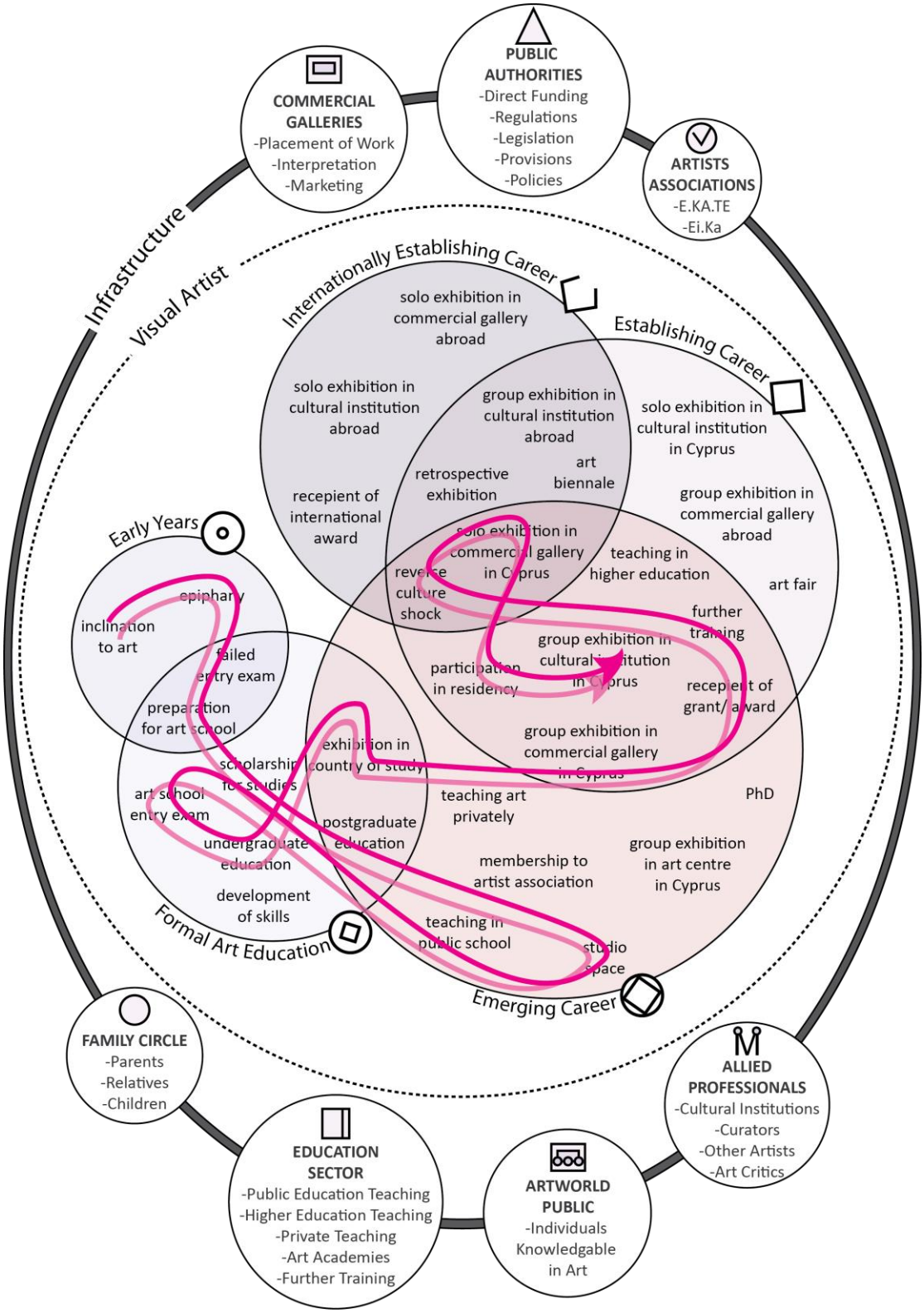
In addition to the informally organised infrastructure, research has shown that visual artists' interpretations of their career development are framed by the myth about what it means to be an artist. These "ready-made stories of the self", as Bain (2005: 27) called them, are preserved and perpetuated because they have become symbols of artistic identification (Patton and Doniger, 1996: 112). For example, according to the myth, talent is an innate ability which artists exhibit early in their lives (Røyseng et al, 2007: 4). Passion, persistence, tenacity of purpose, perseverance in the face of obstacles, ambition and the desire to excel, are characteristics of the visual artist which Simonton (2012: 697) also associated with the myth. Artists in this study supported their claim to talent either by explaining that no one in their family circle had been involved in the arts and, therefore, they must have been born with this 'gift,' or by describing specific events from their childhood where someone noticed their artistic abilities and encouraged their development. In addition, remaining true to the myth, artists noted that their career development relied on their passion and dedication for art. Overcoming difficulties in their careers (for example, failing the entrance exam for art school), was proof that they were destined to be artists. They tended to de-emphasise the arduous work and years of experimentation that was necessary to develop their art practice, thus resolving any possible discrepancies and keeping the myth alive.

The belief in the 'true' or 'free' artist, who is independent, radical and selflessly devoted to his or her work, also gives credence to certain career decisions. For example, some artists asserted that in order to produce 'unique' and 'sublime' works of art they must be entirely dedicated to their practice. Others

interpreted the notion of the 'free' artist to mean that creating artistic work should not have a utilitarian or commercial purpose; therefore, having an auxiliary occupation afforded them a certain distance from financial pursuits. The myth became a driving force and a resource for artists in their career development.

The theoretical framework designed provides the opportunity to further explore how visual artists progressively develop 'artistic quality' in their work. In Chapter Five (p.193), the notion of artistic quality was examined in greater detail; it was described as an abstract concept, a standard that is collectively constructed by artists, experts and the wider art community. This study suggests that the development of artistic quality is entwined with the development of visual artists' careers. In Figure 10, the notion is therefore visually represented as a parallel line moving in unison with an artists' career trajectory (dark pink). Artists seemed to be introduced to the notion of quality very early in their lives, when a teacher or a family member recognised their 'talent'. They began to distinguish their work from the work of their peers based on their developing perception of quality. During the period of formal art education and training, their understanding of quality was refined based on feedback from their supervisors and peers and their own artistic experimentations. Later, their perception was informed by other professionals in the field and by the wider art community. Each component of the infrastructure seems to play a role in the development of quality and artists' experiences and interactions contribute to this advancement.

Figure 10: The Development of Artistic Quality



The findings of the current study are consistent with those of Martin (2007) and Lehman and Wickham (2014), who also discussed how artists' careers relate to the notion of artistic quality. Lehman and Wickham (2014: 3) maintained that a visual artist's reputation is inseparable from their output, and "the level of perception concerning the quality of their output rests largely on the 'legitimacy of its creator' and on their status outside the arts community". Artists internalise the notions of quality through their contact with gallery owners, directors of cultural institutions, critics, collectors, public authorities and other artists- the individuals that represent the informally organised infrastructure. Martin (2007: 16) also suggested that the "quality of the work is intrinsically related to the quality of the artist's overall output". This denotes that works of art are qualified on the basis of the artist's position in the market and on their consistent pursuit for originality, authenticity and technical achievement. It follows that artistic quality is the standard or the ideal towards which artists aspire, but they continuously develop, refine and redefine the notion of artistic quality in the process of developing their career.

This theoretical framework of visual artists' career development demonstrates the dynamic nature of artistic careers and acknowledges the theoretical and contextual influences on artists' sense of self. The components that comprise it are intertwined, mutually reinforcing and attempt to comprehensively interpret the uniqueness of visual artists' career experiences. However, there is still a certain linearity and predictability in this framework that stems from the narratives it is based on. This implies the possibility that some visual artists in Cyprus may not recognise their career trajectories within the broad boundaries of this structure.

6.4. Concluding Remarks

Artists' interpretations of their experiences of becoming and being artists do not only illuminate the way they perceive their identity but also how they interact with the world around them as they develop their careers. The narratives that were explored in the beginning of the chapter denoted that artists had negotiated their career story to correspond with their current perception of self. Their accounts revealed how they made sense of their career experiences and the range of influences that impacted their development.

These narratives underpinned the framework that began to form in the second part of the chapter. Artists' career development was viewed as a cumulative process that is influenced by a number of components; as artists progress through the phases of their careers, they are informed by the combinations and interactions of the infrastructure, the artist myth and by extension, the notion of artistic quality. By identifying the key variables that influence artists' careers, it was possible to examine how these forces were mediated and how they were experienced differently by each individual. At the core of this approach is the role that beliefs play in the creation of meaning. It is suggested that this way of thinking about artistic careers better reflects the situation of visual artists in this study. The diagrams were informed by this analysis and represent an attempt to visually portray the idiosyncrasies observed. In the following chapter I explore how this framework has helped to identify areas where further research on artists' careers would be valuable and discuss the possible implications it has for policy and practice.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

This thesis has presented a first comprehensive account of the situation of visual artists currently living and working in the Republic of Cyprus. The study has investigated how visual artists interpret and make sense of their experiences of becoming and being artists, and has explored the context within which these experiences occur. The analysis has provided an understanding of the dynamics that influence visual artists' career trajectories and has begun to disentangle the complex relationship between artistic careers and artistic identities.

This concluding chapter summarises the main research findings by reflecting on the questions that had been central to the study. Subsequently, it considers the main contributions of the research and discusses their theoretical and practical implications. The last section acknowledges the limitations of the study and identifies avenues for further research.

7.2. Summary of Research Findings and Theoretical Contributions

The aim of this thesis was to investigate visual art practices in Cyprus, contributing to the understanding of artists' identities and working situation. It endeavoured to bridge some of the gaps identified in the review of the literature in Chapter Two, relating to the artist's perception of self and the factors that influence their life and work. Several noteworthy studies have aimed to determine the living and working conditions of artists (ERICarts, 2006; McAndrew and McKimm, 2010; Throsby and Zednik, 2010; etc); there have also been some important contributions discussing the notion of artistic

identity (Bain, 2005; Røyseng et al, 2007); and in recent years, there has been an increased interest in artists' career paths (Lehman and Wickham, 2014; Martin, 2007; Rengers, 2002). However, although these studies undoubtedly provide some insight into the situation of visual artists, they do not address the conceptual relationships between these areas of research. Furthermore, it is contended that the Cypriot context has its own peculiarities which are inevitably overlooked in larger frameworks.

A grounded theory approach was considered suitable to explore the study's objectives and concerns; it allowed the consolidation of the participants' own experienced 'realities' and the artworld context within which they functioned. In Chapter Three, I explicated how data collected through in-depth interviews with visual artists and other individuals from the art sector were combined with additional data from memos, participant observations and the extant literature to draw out patterns, comparisons and relationships. The strategies presented in the chapter made it possible to develop a theoretical framework of artistic career development that is grounded in the data. The process of developing this theory was reflected in the build up from Chapters Four to Six, where the research findings were discussed within the wider theoretical frame and were eventually brought together to approach the concept of artistic career development more effectively.

In particular, Chapter Four explored the institutional structure within which visual arts practices are situated. The findings showed that visual artists in Cyprus share similar concerns with artists in other geographical contexts regarding the impact of policy decisions and government regulations on their

art practice. However, this study showed that the instruments of direct financial support, initiated by the state in the form of subsidies, commissions, pensions and purchases, are conceived with instrumental and often heterogeneous principles that are detached from the needs, expectations and concerns of the visual artists they aim to support. The chapter also examined the administrative and legal provisions pertaining to visual artists in Cyprus and revealed that the social security and taxation systems are far removed from the realities of maintaining an art practice. For most artists in this study, the remuneration they receive from their visual art practice is highly irregular; this causes several difficulties, especially with the calculation of monthly earnings for their social insurance contributions. In addition, many artists choose to serve the arts-related labour market as well; this denotes that in the same period of time, artists may be both employed and self-employed, or self-employed in two different capacities (as an art teacher and an art practitioner), and very often in different countries. Their work may also involve periods of time when unremunerated research and artistic experimentation is undertaken; during this time they are essentially unemployed since they do not receive any income, but they would not qualify for unemployment benefits since they are not actively seeking work. Gill and Pratt (2008: 26) have argued that these working patterns are not specific to the arts and that increasingly, more workers are engaged in insecure, casualised or irregular labour; in the UK context, artists are considered "iconic representatives" of this mode of work. However, this study has shown that even though artists engage in precarious work, there is resistance to it. To equilibrate their situation and regulate their working conditions, several artists preferred to take on teaching in public schools, which in Cyprus is still

considered stable employment. Others professed that they are unable to function well as 'flexible' workers because of the absence of provisions and appropriate governance of such modes of work. Although the key characteristics of visual artists' living and working conditions in Cyprus broadly reflect the situation in other geographical contexts as well, other countries have developed targeted interventions to address particular features of the work environment of artists that generate some of the challenges previously outlined. Visual artists in this study believe that, in comparison to other countries, the system in Cyprus is ineffective, weighted by inconsistencies, favouritism and political indifference. It was argued that this negative view is intensified by their perception that there are better models abroad which are not being explored, but they also appeared to romanticise their experiences and idealise the situation in other countries.

Furthermore, this chapter investigated the support of art galleries and artists' associations because it appeared to be a main concern to the participants of this study. In particular, visual artists were apprehensive about the artists' associations that are meant to represent their interests. Although their attitudes towards collective organisation varied, most artists believe in the legitimating power of belonging to an association. However, they voiced multiple concerns regarding their practices and expressed their expectations regarding their programming, assistance in fundraising and legal matters, and training. The research showed that confidence in the association's activities is weak, with perceptible consequences on its collective bargaining strength. The study also provided additional evidence with respect to the mechanics of artists' relationships with commercial galleries. It showed that most

relationships are not formalised with written contracts and as a result, there are unspoken expectations that are not met. This lack of communication may be the *source* of the animosity expressed by artists when describing their experiences, but the analysis suggests that the *cause* relates to the myth about the 'sanctity' of the arts and both of their efforts to preserve this ideal. The interactions between individuals in the art sector, examined in Chapter Four, seemed to be influential in the development of artists' careers and are intricately interwoven in the process of constructing an artistic identity.

In Chapter Five, a number of important observations were made about the notion of artistic identity that enhance the current understanding of the concept. The findings of this study add to a relatively small body of literature that explores how artistic identity is reinforced by the reproduction of the artist myth. The study suggested that visual artists, critics, gallery directors and patrons perpetuate the narrative of the talented, but marginalised, creative individual who is selflessly devoted to his or her art. The artists interviewed for this study tended to reinforce this notion by choosing to work undisturbed in contemplative isolation and by seemingly distancing themselves from commercial pursuits. Many of them maintain studio spaces that substantially contribute to their self conception as artists. The analysis suggested that the studio defines and structures their daily lives and provides the necessary isolation, privacy and freedom to allow their artistic identity to find expression. In addition, the study identified a tension that exists between artists' expressed belief in the 'arts for arts' sake' dictum and their desire for some kind of financial stability. Particularly, they engage in activities for which they expect to be remunerated and pursue sources of income beyond

their visual art practice, which suggest that they are interested in making a living; however, they try to preserve a seemingly a-commercial relationship with their art so they rarely admit to this. The present study confirmed the previous findings of Abbing (2002) and Bain (2005) but contributed additional observations that suggested that artists set their own 'safeguards' to ensure that their activity appears untainted by financial considerations- for example, public support is often utilised to counterbalance the pressures of the commercial market and several artists pursue the support of commercial galleries to relieve them of commercial distractions.

Additionally, this research enhances the understanding of how artistic identity relates to personal identity. Artistic identity seems to be almost indistinguishable from the artist's overall sense of self, ostensibly ranking the highest in the prominence hierarchy. It represents a core, integrative element of identity, serving as a major factor in the emergence of meaning and structure in individuals' lives. Their visual art practice is portrayed as an internal calling, an almost unavoidable consequence of their being. Visual artists believe that they do not create art because their profession mandates it but because there is something inside them that they need to externalise. Creating works of art offers a sort of existential satisfaction which cannot be obtained doing anything else. In this context, artists believe that their artistic identity is the most important part of themselves and takes precedence over other roles they may assume in their lives.

The study makes a significant contribution to the understanding of how artistic identity is moulded by the artist's transitional experiences abroad. In

the absence of a tradition of art academies on the island, artists have gone to study at art schools in other countries. The school's artistic influences and the country's cultural stimulants are often apparent in these artists' work. As a result, there has been an interesting heterogeneity in regards to artistic creation and conceptual thinking on the island. However, the findings show that visual artists encounter difficulties adapting to the new artistic environment when they return to Cyprus after their studies. They also experience frustration and disappointment when they return from training courses, residencies and exhibitions, comparing their current situation with their experiences abroad. The study argued that their reaction depends on the cultural similarity between the foreign and home culture, the activity and the length of time they spend abroad, as well as the social relationships they create with other artists and various associates. These observations have contributed to the understanding of the reverse culture shock experienced by visual artists upon their return. It is noted that the current model for re-acculturation is insufficient to illustrate visual artists' experiences of returning to Cyprus because the study did not find support for the initial and final stages. The adapted theoretical model proposes a four-phase process that more suitably describes the experiences of visual artists: re-exposure, cultural comparison, separation and acceptance. This model redefines the phases of reverse culture shock and suggests that it is a recurring, cyclical process. This is because artists travel abroad regularly and do not experience all the adjustment stages before the cycle is repeated. When visual artists return to Cyprus, they are confronted by a reality which is incongruent to their newly developed expectations and consequently experience a deep challenge to their

sense of belonging. These experiences were considered to be an inseparable part of artists' career trajectories.

One of the most important contributions of this study, presented in Chapter Six, was the development of a theoretical framework that explored visual artists' career trajectories and the context within which they occur. Their narratives revealed how artists made sense of their experiences and how changes in their situation, perception and awareness contributed to the construction of the self and the career. The development of their artistic identity was therefore considered to be interwoven with the development of their careers. The analysis suggested that both are formed through accumulated experiences that are influenced by a number of components: throughout their careers, artists are informed by their family circle, the education sector, public authorities, artists' associations, the artworld public, galleries, allied professionals and the combinations and interactions of this infrastructure; their perceptions are also framed by the myth about what it means to be an artist which becomes a driving force and a resource for artists and their career development. The proposed design that illustrates the dynamics of this framework offers new insights and a clearer understanding of visual artists' career development, experiences and interactions. Its policy contributions are discussed in the following section.

7.3. Implications of the Research for Policy

The broadly defined phases of artists' career development, analysed in Chapter Six, will be used to guide the discussion of the research implications. This section is structured in a way that responds to the career development framework developed through this thesis (see Figure 8, p.270).

The study has shown that aspiring artists spend at least three years in art schools abroad and engage in numerous activities that help them develop skills, knowledge and an understanding of art. All visual artists interviewed had obtained a degree in the arts, but in diverse educational contexts. They embraced the historical continuum of art practices in their host countries and became exposed to elements outside their norm. Each artist's career seems to be based on a unique fusion of artistic and cultural influences of a distinct time and place. These different expressions appear to merge, clash and converse with each other when visual artists return to Cyprus. The absence of art academies on the island has resulted in an interesting amalgamation and diversification of contemporary artistic creation and conceptual thinking. However, educational institutions in Cyprus are slowly beginning to introduce visual arts courses and the number of aspiring artists will continue to grow. Although this may create a space for a consolidated artistic voice of Cypriot artists and solidarity amongst them, it is possible that, in the long term, it will also result in the stagnation of the diversity in artistic activity. It would be beneficial to maintain an international dimension to artists' educational experiences through comprehensive international exchange programmes or work opportunities. This would help young aspiring artists create and sustain

contacts internationally, which artists in this study believe are central in their career development.

The findings also suggest that during their formal art education, most artists did not develop practical, career-centred skills to prepare them for a future in the profession. There seemed to be an absence of professional practice modules geared towards providing students with a critical understanding of the institutional and professional structures within which artistic practice exists. Art schools in the UK have begun to encourage the self-sufficiency and professionalism of artists through training in business skills, financial management and marketing, which may be a useful way to assist their long-term career growth. Nonetheless, there is need for research that investigates these developments in order to understand how they influence visual arts practices and artistic labour.

This study also showed that after graduating, the majority of visual artists return to Cyprus and experience a reverse culture shock, which can be daunting at the start of their career. During their time abroad they inevitably loose contact with the artist community in Cyprus and consequently experience a challenge to their sense of belonging when they return. It is possible that this experience reaffirms the romantic notion of the culturally marginalised creative individual, prohibiting artists from fully re-acculturating. A number of studies suggest that there is a correlation between reverse culture shock and the availability of social support (Baker, 2012; Brugha, 1988; Pantelidou and Craig, 2006; Mooradian, 2004; Conn and Peterson, 1989). This form of support refers to “specific personal provisions of

social relationships and particularly their more subjective components, e.g. confiding, intensity and reciprocity of interaction and reassurance of worth" (Brugha, 1988: 206).

Mooradian (2004: 42) explained that social support, in the form of information, assistance and sentiment, may help individuals overcome the distress of returning home; it is therefore critical in the re-entry phase. Artists' associations could play a central role in this process. They could potentially assist artists re-acculturate through social events, group activities, and educational programmes. In addition, the provision of information on professional practice, employment, current events and exhibitions could facilitate artists' adaptation to their socio-cultural environment. They may also extend their efforts to the explanation and negotiation of gallery agreements, which would be particularly beneficial to artists at the emerging career phase.

It would also be interesting to see visual artists who are more established offering mentorship to emerging artists at such critical phase. This mechanism could potentially provide insights about the emerging artist's work and promote a self-reflective approach to their practice. It would also be useful for artists to organise small group critiques in their studios where they could discuss the development of their work and offer constructive criticism to one another in a more informal way. For example, there is an organisation in London called Q-Art that is dedicated to this purpose. It runs open 'crits' and workshops for artists at various phases of their careers that aim at supporting their development and at strengthening their networks (Q-Art, 2014). Such

initiatives in Cyprus could help ease the transitional stress from the art school to the art world and encourage collaborative learning opportunities amongst artists.

Chapter Five discussed how emerging visual artists benefit from establishing studio spaces where they can produce work, and from participating in residency programmes abroad. However, the research has also shown that the cost of a studio is often a prohibiting factor in obtaining one and residency programmes require travelling and involve high freight costs for which they can only procure partial funding. The specific ways in which artistic work is organised and the particular infrastructure necessary to advance artistic practice could be better addressed at the policy level. For example, start-up grants could be awarded to emerging artists for materials, equipment and travel. Subsidised studio spaces could also be made available in partnership with local authorities; offering them on a time-share basis may even help in forming dynamic and creative collaborations. Low-interest-loans for buying works of art or tax incentives for donating to cultural organisations could potentially normalise the process of purchasing original artworks and stimulate the local market. The role of curators, critics, researchers, individuals running cultural institutions, and others that provide supplies, studio spaces and equipment to visual artists could also be strengthened by the state. There is a need to support these allied professionals to continuously update their knowledge and skills and to provide them with opportunities to contribute their specialised expertise to the art community as a whole. Artists would benefit from more active professionals with a deeper understanding of their career development, their internal priorities and their

working processes. The framework developed through this research may provide a way in principle of thinking about the support and infrastructure that could enhance visual artists' working lives and advance their professional status.

It is contended that through their experiences abroad, artists' operating environments and networks expand, which may create the need for a different approach to their professional practice. Perhaps more efficient strategies are needed for gaining wider visibility. From this study's sample, nine visual artists had created personal websites. A few of them maintain non-static websites and social media profiles in order to actively participate in the marketing of their work. Some participants used social media for personal purposes but very few utilised it as part of their art practice.

The internet has already allowed global communities of artists to come together through online forums and groups, to promote their work and enhance their marketing skills. Social networking sites focus on building communities and connecting like-minded people that share similar hobbies and interests. Information including text, photos, graphics and videos are now shared with large networks quickly and easily. This also means that social networks could enable artists to invite audiences to view their work in a way that traditional forms of marketing or advertising could not. Social media may be employed to create a new type of conversation with existing audiences, to gain new ones and to build credibility and reputation among expanding audiences. By networking with other artists, they could benefit from each other's experiences, expertise and contacts within the art market which could

lead to opportunities to exhibit work, sell work or be represented by a commercial gallery or a dealer in a different country.

The findings of this study suggest that visual artists in Cyprus might resist to this type of self-promotion, with older visual artists possibly refusing to engage with such activities. In support of this effort, artists' associations and/or educational institutions can direct their focus to arts training in areas such as marketing, multi-media and web design, in order to help artists meet the changing demands of their discipline and ensure continued engagement with audiences. Visual artists at the established stages of their careers may especially benefit from this type of training.

The findings of the study have also revealed that visual artists in the emerging and established stages are unclear about their status and obligations regarding both social security and taxation- mainly because their profession is not recognised as an occupational category by the state. There is also confusion regarding the threshold on income tax and a lack of basic clarity of the regulation on Value Added Tax on works of art. A central information system which could help artists comprehend and address these issues would be advantageous. An important means of promoting these aims would be to increase cross-ministry cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A permanent mechanism could be created, such as a council, whose role would be to research and promote issues relating to the status of artists. Alternatively, on a smaller scale, this role may be assumed by artists' associations where a specialist may be appointed to act as an information

source and as an advocate for artists dealing with social insurance and taxation issues.

Practices that promote artists' career longevity and development could acknowledge the dimensions of artistic work discussed in previous chapters. The analysis has suggested that practicing visual artists in Cyprus form distinct and not always related understandings of what it means to be an artist. In addition, establishing an artistic practice is not a particularly social process; visual artists usually work alone for long periods of time and develop an individual approach to organising their practice and dealing with issues that may arise. It has been observed that younger artists in particular seem to find it difficult to assimilate with the local artist community when they return from their studies abroad. One of the issues consistently raised throughout the study is that visual artists are unable to meaningfully communicate with the individuals that represent the supportive infrastructure and, perhaps more importantly, with their peers.

The findings suggest that there is a communication gap between the artists' association's committee and its members and between visual artists and the galleries that exhibit their work. Artists' associations could enter into a dialogue with the artists they represent in order to ensure that their concerns are reflected in their strategies. Considering earlier assertions, this may be a challenging task but the organisation of regular formal social events can begin to bridge this communication gap. Artists' associations will then be in a better position to advocate on behalf of their members. In addition, galleries as well as artists may benefit from formal agreements that establish the expectations

and responsibilities of both parties, the percentage of commission received by the gallery and whether the artist will be exclusively represented within a specific geographical area. Written contracts can prevent disagreements and confusion that seem to encumber these relationships.

The study has also noted that there is a dichotomy between the funding mechanisms implemented by the state and visual artists' understanding of their objectives. It seems that neither the public authorities nor the visual artists supported by them are able to realise their objectives effectively. Artists may recognise the political intent that exists in arts policy but only tangentially engage with the politics and the imperatives of these policies. Equally, the absence of appropriate mechanisms to evaluate cultural policy instruments with input from visual artists has meant that only minor changes to policy have been possible. It is therefore important to create opportunities for artists to convey their needs and leverage decisions concerning their own conditions. Furthermore, visual artists and arts policy-makers need to develop a common language to talk about art. What is perhaps required by policy-makers is an examination of what arts policy needs to accomplish, how the needs and expectations of artists can be met in order to strengthen those policy aims, and what mechanisms can be designed to implement them effectively. A policy for artists will have to mediate artists' perceptions, careers and identities. This implies that there is need for further research. Before moving on to the recommendations for future research, the following table will summarise the proposals highlighted in this section.

Table 3: Summary of Recommendations for Policy and Practice

Visual Artists could potentially advance their careers by:	• Gaining an understanding of the framework developed in this thesis and recognising the various dynamics that influence their careers and perceptions. • Taking advantage of opportunities provided during formal education to gain experiences in the international art scene and establish networks. • Establishing and maintaining links with cultural institutions and galleries abroad through residencies and exhibitions. • Networking with other artists and create meaningful collaborations. • Offering mutually beneficial mentorship to other artists. • Obtaining a formal agreement when seeking gallery representation. • Recognising that reputational value could be leveraged and translated into financial value only under appropriate conditions. • Utilising social media to create a new type of conversation with existing audiences, gain new audiences and build credibility and reputation among expanding audiences.
Commercial Galleries would benefit from:	• Increasing communication with artists. • Designing and implementing formal agreements to establish expectations and responsibilities of both parties, percentage of commission received by the gallery and level of exclusivity within specific geographical area. • Establishing links with galleries abroad and participating in art fairs.
Public Authorities could support artistic production by:	• Introducing start-up grants for artists in the emerging phase of their career for materials, equipment and travel. • Subsidising studio spaces in partnership with local authorities and perhaps offering them on time-share basis. • Creating a central information system for better understanding of social security and taxation systems as they apply to artists.

	• Increasing cross-ministry cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to address these issues. • Researching and promoting issues relating to the status of artists. • Creating opportunities for artists to convey their needs and leverage decisions concerning their own conditions. • Developing a strategic plan for cultural policy, to include appropriate mechanisms for effective implementation and evaluation with input from visual artists. A policy for artists will have to mediate artists' perceptions, careers and identities. • Initiating low-interest-loans for buying works of art and tax incentives for donating to cultural organisations. • Supporting allied professionals to update their knowledge and skills and provide them with opportunities to contribute their specialised expertise to the art community as a whole. • Maintaining transparency and impartiality in all operations and ensure accountability of the process of awarding grants and awards.
Artist's Associations could assume the responsibility of:	• Encouraging collaborative learning opportunities amongst artists. • Introducing arts training in areas such as marketing, multi-media and web design. • Appointing a specialist to act as an information source and as an advocate for artists dealing with social insurance and taxation issues. • Entering into dialogue with members in order to ensure that their concerns are reflected in their strategies. • Assisting artists re-acculturate through social events, group activities, educational programmes, as well as through the provision of information on professional practice, employment, and current events and exhibitions. • Extending their efforts to the explanation and negotiation of gallery agreements.

Education Sector could ensure that it:	• Adequately prepares aspiring artists for art school by teaching them to be critical, reflective and selective with their portfolio. • Maintains an international dimension to artists' educational experiences through comprehensive international exchange programmes or work opportunities. • Develops practical, career-centred skills, relevant to the local visual art scene as well as the international market, to prepare them for a future in the profession: such as training in business skills, financial management and marketing, which may be a useful way to assist their long-term career growth. • Encourages research and debate of visual arts practices.
Allied Professionals could:	• Organise small group critiques in artists' studios to discuss the development of their work and to offer constructive criticism in a more informal way. • Become empowered to share their knowledge and expertise with the rest of the sector. • Maintain transparency in practices and collaborations.

7.4. Recommendations for Further Research

The study's focus on the Cypriot context adds significantly to the understanding of the situation of visual artists in the specific geographical area. It also contributes to the growing body of international literature that lays between cultural policy research and adjacent research fields. The study explored the conceptual links between artists' careers, their identities and the institutional frameworks in which visual art practices take place, and determined that there is a struggle between the three components. Visual artists' identities are constantly evolving due to their interactions with other individuals in the artworld, the social expectations that exist and the embedded preconceptions about what it means to be an artist. These are often counteracted by visual artists' own attitudes and beliefs, and the activities they engage in to procure an income. Each artist's identity and career was therefore unique, but also familiar. Their career development, as it was explored in this thesis, involved a form of negotiation and re-negotiation between their subjective perception of the self and their desired status. Artists' individual perspectives and internal conflicts are significant but often overlooked in cultural policy research. In this study, the career development theory that emerged, established the connections between visual artists' experiences, interpretations and the context in which they occurred. The framework has highlighted a number of opportunities for further research, explored in this final section.

Since this thesis has focused on the living and working conditions of active visual artists, it has not addressed how and why some artists become inactive in the field. Much remains unclear about the artists who, after their studies,

stop engaging with their visual art practice. Further research could explore their career trajectories in relation to the trajectories of visual artists from this study in an effort to understand what their influences were and where their paths started to diverge. This may be particularly interesting in cultural policy research that investigates public and private policies for artists; such research can potentially reveal the extent to which the training, circumstances and motivations of these individuals differ.

Further research is also warranted on visual artists' early careers. When artists return from their studies abroad, how prepared are they for an artistic career in Cyprus? How does their diverse artistic training relate to their early career paths? To respond to these questions, a suitable approach would be to investigate the experiences of young art graduates entering the art market and the dilemmas they face while transitioning into the artworld.

Furthermore, the present study has not found explicit data to support the culture shock that visual artists, most likely, experience during their time abroad, as it was not part of the initial investigation. However, the reverse cultural shock experienced by visual artists returning to Cyprus presupposes the initial change. It would be advantageous to examine the relationship between culture shock and reverse culture shock, considering that one can inform the understanding of the other. Subsequently, the adapted theoretical model for reverse culture shock, developed to explain the experiences of visual artists returning to Cyprus after time abroad, can be further refined. The study has suggested that the duration and intensity of the phases of reverse culture shock vary considerably amongst individuals. There is a necessity for further

research into the variables which influence these experiences, such as the cultural similarity between the foreign and home cultures, the activity and the length of time abroad, as well as the nature of artists' interpersonal relationships. However, as the study has shown, there are several issues associated with the way individuals reflect on prior knowledge and life incidents. Perhaps there would be value in conducting a longitudinal study which examines the stages of re-entry in regular increments. Such a study may take into consideration the recurring experience of reverse culture shock, triggered by visual artists' regular contact with countries abroad. It could further enhance the understanding of the phases of adaptation, which could potentially inform how support systems are structured and when they are needed most. In the long term, studies may expand the analysis to other countries in order to investigate the robustness of the results in different cultural and economic contexts. It would also be interesting to investigate the way reverse culture shock is experienced by other professionals with different mobility patterns.

The study has also suggested that artists' career experiences are contingent upon the dynamics of an informally organised infrastructure. It has enhanced our understanding of the relationships between visual artists and the other categories of professionals in the field. Nonetheless, the findings have revealed that more research is necessary in regards to the way visual artists in Cyprus establish networks and industry links domestically and internationally, which influence their career development. There is also a necessity for further research that looks beyond the interactions between artists and the infrastructure, into the interactions that happen within the system and

perhaps with other related connections outside of it. There is also evidence to suggest that there is an international infrastructure, with similar components, that also influences an artist's career development. Future research could attempt to connect the various components of the visual arts system in Cyprus with the international context in order to identify a possible principle of cohesion. Individuals' perspectives need to remain at the core of such research in order to maintain the subjective and idiosyncratic nature of visual art practices.

Finally, it is important to note that since the empirical research for this study was undertaken, the economic situation in Cyprus has deteriorated precipitously. In March 2013, Cyprus became the fifth country in the Eurozone to receive a rescue package, after Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain. Beyond demands for austerity and general reforms, the terms of European creditors stipulated that a banking *bail-in* should be enforced to absorb losses and recapitalise the banks (The Economist, 2014). The consequences of this have been severe and the economy is still in decline a year later. In 2014, the economy has shrunk by an additional 5%, after a similar decline in 2013. Public debt is estimated at around 120% of GDP and expected to increase by 4-5% within a year (Pashardes, 2014: 6). Of a population of approximately 865 000, 27.1% are now considered to be at-risk-of-poverty or social exclusion (Pashardes, 2014: 4). The depreciating conditions in the labour market have increased unemployment levels to over 16.5% (Eurostat, 2014). This situation causes further strains to the system as welfare strategies are adapted to combat the serious social issues created. It is very likely that visual artists have been further impacted by this situation and

that many will have to deal with threats to their artistic practice. A longitudinal study that explores visual artists' experiences over time may be able to analyse the changes in artists' careers, taking into account the current developments.

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Appendix 1: Sample of Researcher's Memos

This appendix contains a selection of the memos taken during the study. Memos documented my reflections on the research process, pointed to areas that needed further exploration, cultivated analytical distance and highlighted methodological decisions.

November 3rd, 2011

Memo on research methodology

RE: Research paradigm

Central to the process of doing research is that methods and instruments of inquiry are themselves based on various assumptions about how the world works and how it might be understood. The concept of truth, as examined by Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba in their publication *Naturalistic Inquiry* (1985), is formulated by a systematic set of ideas, theories and beliefs which constitute a researcher's worldview and unquestioned assumptions about life. The researcher has his own understanding of what the human world consists of, what his relationship to it should be, and the means by which he achieves desired ends. It is the combination of these three elements- ontology (the study of the nature of reality), epistemology (the nature of justifiable knowledge) and methodology (system of methods) that Lincoln and Guba refer to as giving rise to paradigms (1985: 200). Gordon Rowland (1995) argues that any research study reflects a particular worldview composed of at least these three philosophical layers. He elucidates that "particular ontological beliefs lead us to make particular epistemological assumptions"; explanations of how people come to know about the world depend on what we believe the world to be. Likewise, "particular epistemological assumptions lead us to choose certain methodologies over others". The choice of activities carried out, fit with how humans are assumed to come to know (Rowland, 1995: 278). The choice of paradigm overtly reshapes "the interactive relationship between researchers and participants in the research process" (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006: 9). Melanie Birks and Jane Mills (2011: 52) ascertain that in order to be methodologically congruent in the research design, the researcher must be conscious of their philosophical position; the relationship between the researcher and the data, how it is collected or generated, what it consists of and how it is analysed, directly impinges on the research itself.

Researchers take paradigm use very eruditely through three major philosophical doctrines -positivism, constructionism and critical realism- within which certain sets of beliefs guide inquiry in different ways. Positivism asserts that the only authentic knowledge is that which is based on sense, experience and positive verification; it seeks the 'truth', which is believed to exist and can objectively be measured- a theory antithetical to grounded theory methodology. Constructionism is a theory of knowledge which argues that humans generate knowledge and meaning from an interaction between their experiences and their ideas; it also recognises the researcher as an instrument, inevitably changing the nature of the phenomena which is studied. In contradiction to positivism, knowledge and people's conception

and beliefs of what reality is becomes embedded in the institutional fabric of society; the truth, in this case, is therefore considered to be socially constructed. Critical realism provides an alternative to positivism and constructionism and combines aspects of both. Andrew Sayer (2000: 12) argues that ontologically, critical realism acknowledges an external, objective reality, like positivism, but acknowledges that "concepts are human, perception-based constructions". Epistemologically, critical realism posits that "knowledge is based on individuals' reinterpretation of their social experiences" (Sayer, 2000: 12). The paradigm starts from an ontology that identifies the structures and mechanisms through which they are generated as being fundamental to the constitution of our natural and social reality. Its ideology is to recognise the reality of the natural order and the events and discourses of the social world. It holds that "we will only be able to understand, and so change, the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses" (Bhaskar, 1989: 3). These structures are not spontaneously apparent in the observable pattern of events; Bhaskar maintains that "they can only be identified through the practical and theoretical work of the social sciences" (1989: 3). Bhaskar (1978: 13) outlines what he calls three domains: the real, the actual, and the empirical. The real domain consists of underlying structures and mechanisms, relations, events, behaviour and experiences. The generative mechanisms, residing in the real domain, exist independently but are capable of producing patterns of events. Relations generate behaviours in the social world. The domain of the actual consists of these events and behaviours. Hence, the actual domain is the domain in which observed events or observed patterns of events occur. The domain of the empirical consists of what we experience, hence, it is the domain of experienced events. Critical realism also argues that the real world is ontologically stratified and differentiated. The real world consists of a plurality of structures and mechanisms that generate the events that occur. Understanding general patterns of behaviour by groups of people is important, but understanding individual behaviour and perception is also a useful and valid part of research. I wonder if critical realism is an appropriate philosophical research position for the proposed study or if a constructivist methodology is more suitable with my own world view.

December 28th, 2011

Post-interview memo on first interview conducted

RE: Personal reflections/ emotions

I just finished the interview with [redacted]... it did not go well. At least this is my initial feeling. First of all, the artist had an issue with being recorded- which I specifically mentioned the previous time we met at the gallery. She begun by saying that she would accept to being recorded but would suggest that I do not conduct interviews in this way because it causes issues with the galleries which represent her, to which she answers to. She then suggested I add a clause in the consent form which would protect the artist from complications which they would potentially have if their words were taken out of context in the analysis; at this point I pointed out to one of the points in the form where it indicates that no personal information is disclosed at any point of analysis. Before we commenced the interview she asked to see the interview transcript when it is done.

I began by asking the question of her professional development to which she looked at me in disapproval and replied that she cannot answer the question because it is too general. I followed up by asking her to talk to me about how she chose to study art-nothing; how she started her career-nothing. She was dismissive of me I think- at which point I thought I would ask about art- artists usually enjoy talking about art- or so I thought. She did not want to talk about art- she said she is not a theorist- she just makes art- its not her job to define it. Ok.

The interview lasted about 30 minutes- there wasn't any depth basically because she didn't say much- but she didn't seem to want to either. A couple points I can extract at this moment from memory is that the introduction to the European Union has made mobility a possibility for artists in Cyprus, she mentioned social security and taxation as two major challenges artists face in general, and that she believes that art and artists is a socially constructed role which she is given and not one she proclaims to be- although earlier in the conversation she called herself an artist and not a theorist to make the distinction.

Most of the time was spent on criticising the method of research and specifically on the generality of the questions she was asked. I do understand her perspective but the questions were purposefully general. She added that an interview of this nature is biographical and does not resemble a scientific research study.

I will not start transcribing the interview today- I think it is destructive to do so since I have the other interview tomorrow...

February 28th, 2012

Memo on interview with visual artist I003

RE: Content analysis of I003

[L49] likes talking about art- even though artists aren't suppose to talk about art. Artists express themselves thought their art and does not use words to do that. What does this mean?

I003 talks about himself in the third person but I think what he is really talking about is the artist. An idealised version of the artist. The artist's work, the artist's honesty, the artist's inspiration etc. He is conscious of the artist and the artist's identity and characteristics. He talks about the artist as a mythical creature who derives inspiration from his experiences and has talent and skill to create. Until I asked him a question about professional practice and creating a company. He then said we are people too- and art is their work.

[L133-134] But I came to Cyprus and I had to do advertising. Otherwise I would not be able to do my animation

Very close to the literature- artists do another job to support their art. Subsequent interview could be with artist working exclusively on their practice? Different perspective?

This was seen with I002 who taught art and also did his own work. But he didn't say it quite so clearly. I003 says that if he was forced by the circumstances to do advertising although he didn't like it so that he could do his animation. Indicating impact on art practice? Priorities?

What was interesting about I002 in comparison was that he also did paintings, which weren't for his solo exhibition and sold them at group exhibitions which he did not think highly of in order to support his personal/solo work. Levels of art practice? Artist creating for different audiences. Clever in managing his work

May 26th, 2012

Memo on interview with visual artist I017

RE: Career pause and returning to work

This was an interesting interview and the artist has very open and talkative not only about his work but about how the artworld works in general. It was good to hear his perspective and the sort of behind the scenes of how things work in Cyprus. He was more direct and critical than other artists already interviewed and seemed to reflect on certain decisions he made in his career.

He works as teacher in a high school and he also works as an artist. At some point he said that he got tired of continuously having to produce work for exhibitions. He didn't want to be dictated about what to produce. He said things like: "they will put a limit", "they want a small piece", "they want a piece in two months" etc. As he was explaining this he became frustrated again like he was at the time this was happening to him. I wonder if this links to ideas of the 'free artist' that other artists discussed in previous interviews? He didn't want to do it any more so he stopped producing art.

But when he went to teach in public school he got shocked. Why was he shocked? He only said that it was daunting to work with young people. Did this experience push him to go back into art practice?

No he mentioned that he got a commission from an art collector and went back into practice. If he wasn't active why did the collector ask him to produce a piece? He said he knew him personally. But was it a favour? Did he see potential? Did he do it to push him back into art practice? Conscious decision? I wonder how influential people are to artists throughout their careers. Does the person's status matter for the extent he can influence? Is it possible that one person makes a difference? He essentially changed his trajectory. What are the other influences?

The artist seemed to reconcile these two aspects of his work now. He said he doesn't mind being a teacher- he actually prefers it- for the money. He gets paid well he said and he can fund his practice. No family or other expenses. How relevant is that to career? I013 said something similar. She didn't want a family

Now he is waiting to finish school for the summer so he can paint every day. He prepared his studio and ideas and is ready to start working. Does painting mean more now that he doesn't work all the time on his practice? Is it more focused/meaningful?

So I wonder several things now. The first is the relationship between teaching at school and maintaining a practice. Then it's the question of how artists' careers are influenced by people, by school, events, etc. Analysing the interview can produce more information on these.

December 24th, 2012

Memo on writing up

RE: Insecurity of being an artist/being a teacher

I started composing a section on the relationship between the financial situation of visual artists, and their decision to go into teaching as a means to secure a livelihood. In regards to the subject, various themes have been raised. Artists mention that working as professional artists alone causes insecurity, first financial, but as a result, insecurity in their lives- a value which is considered necessary to be fulfilled. This could be linked to the fact that Cypriots have not had long periods of financial, political or social stability. For that reason it is perhaps more appropriate to examine the Cyprus theme first as it is directly linked to the overall situation of artists in Cyprus. But to look at this section a bit further, it is imperative to see how financial insecurity links to teaching. As artists face a life of precarious financial circumstances they are faced with the dilemma of either continuing to work exclusively on their art, with pure focus on the production of work which will procure their income, or whether to go into art education where the income is stable and secure and which according to them, provides a freedom of mind to create art which is unaffected by financial troubles and commercial production. The state has tried to assimilate artists in its workforce by appointing them in government positions, in the public education system or in publicly funded night classes for adults. However, younger artist will now face the conundrum of their profession.

The other extension of this theme is the issue of how financial security impacts the production of work. Artist support that financial security positively impacts the work produced as they feel unconstraint by trends in the market or the commerciality of their artwork.

February 13th, 2013

Memo on writing up findings

RE: Definition by art school education

A number of artists believe that those who obtain a degree in art have the right to be considered visual artists. One artist stated that he needed to give herself permission to make abstract art. And to give herself permission he needed to go to graduate school again (I015, 69-71). What does that mean? Permission? Is this linked to development of quality? How does quality link to education?

While some artists regard their education important, the majority of them believe that as an explicit criterion for definition, it cannot stand. A visual artist said:

-Look, for some people an artist is someone who has the diploma, which I consider to be wrong. For me let's say that's not enough. Having a diploma means nothing, what matters is how you operate on a daily basis, if you do research, if you are active, and we have many examples of people who didn't go to Art School and they are still visual artists. (I011, 438-442)

An artist, whose career took off some years after her graduating, stated:

-I don't really believe in degree holders that come, because anyone can study art but not be charismatic. Universities are happy if a good artist comes out every 4 years. Therefore, you can't have Cyprus with this size, where dozens leave for fine art studies every year, to be all good. Therefore, you cannot define them by the degree, that's for sure. (I021, 135-140)

Some artists regard a degree to be "a piece of paper" (I012, 418). Another explains that the validity of a degree can be challenged if after receiving their diploma they become inactive. As one artist affirms, individuals "who painted the last time 25 years ago" might "want to be considered artists but they aren't artists" (I017, 504-507). A small number of artists believe that the difficulty in distinguishing artists by degree only, is that it impinges on "issues of freedom of each person to create" (I019, 292-294). An artist states:

-Even [...] an amateur [.] a self-taught artist [...] I think that the right to create is not only justified by the degree. Everyone is entitled, since the age of three, four years old they begin to create, they have the right to create until the end of their life. (I005, 226-229)

As visual artists maintain, a higher education degree in art is not considered important to define their profession. So their perception of the necessity of education varies. But I don't think it really does because all of them followed that route. They have obtained a first degree and a number of them have gone on to study at a postgraduate and doctorate level. Why do they say these things then? What is the meaning for them?

Appendix 2: Details of Visual Artists

I [#]	DoB	Gender	Location of Work	Country of Education	Web site	Occupation	Art Practice
I001	1958	Female	Nicosia	France	Static	Artist	Installations
I002	1979	Male	Larnaka	Greece	---	PT Art teacher, Artist	Painting, Collage
I003	1950	Male	Limassol	Prague	---	Artist	Painting, Illustration, Silk Printing, Animation
I004	1948	Male	Limassol	Greece, UK	---	Artist	Painting
I005	1945	Female	Limassol	UK	---	Professional Artist/ President of E.KA.TE.	Painting
I006	1944	Male	Limassol	UK	---	Retired Art Educator, Artist	Sculpture, Painting
I007	1958	Male	Tala, Paphos	UK	Static	Art Educator, Artist	Painting, Happenings
I008	1977	Female	Paphos	UK	Static	PT Art Teacher, Artist	Photography, Public Art, Curating
I009	1978	Female	Limassol	Greece	---	Artist	Painting, Video Art
I010	1947	Male	Rural Village in Limassol District	Greece Russia, Italy	---	Art Educator, Artist, Opened Museum	Printmaking, Book Writing
I011	1966	Male	Nicosia	Russia, USA	Static	HE Educator, Artist	Installations, Site Specific, Happenings, Art Writing
I012	1983	Female	Nicosia	UK	---	PT Art Teacher, Artist	Sculpture
I013	1943	Female	Rural Village in Larnaka District	UK	Static	Artist	Painting
I014	1989	Female	Aglanzia, Nicosia	UK	Blog	Artist	Installations, Curating, Art Writing
I015	1966	Female	Agios Dometios, Nicosia	USA	---	HE Educator, Artist	Installations, Drawing
I016	1981	Female	Pyrgos, Limassol	France	Static	PT Teacher, Artist	Photography

I017	1973	Male	Limassol	France	---	Art Educator, Artist	Painting, Curating, Art Writing
I018	1976	Male	Paralimni	Greece, Italy	---	PT Art Teacher, Artist	Painting, Video Art
I019	1956	Male	Malounda Nicosia	Romania, France	Static	Artist	Installations
I020	1977	Female	Nicosia	Bulgaria	Static	HE Educator, Artist	Painting, Photography
I021	1971	Female	Nicosia	Greece, UK	---	Artist	Installation, Embroidery, Video Art, fashion design
I022	1977	Male	Nicosia	France	---	Artist	Performance art
I023	1967	Female	Nicosia	UK	---	HE Educator, Artist	Painting
I024	1985	Male	Nicosia	Greece	---	Professional Photographer, Artist	Photography
I025	1968	Female	Limassol	UK, USA	---	HE Educator, Artist	Installations
I026	1979	Male	Larnaka	Greece	---	PT Art Teacher, Artist	Painting

Appendix 3: Details of Participants from the Art Sector

AS [#]	Name/Surname	Gender	Location of Work	Role
AS01	Louli Michaelidou	Female	Nicosia	Cultural Services Officer
AS02	Peter Michaelides	Male	Limassol	Gallery Owner/ Auction House Owner: Peter's Gallery
AS03	Natia Anaxagorou	Female	Limassol	Limassol Local Authority Cultural Services
AS04	Gianna Ioannou	Female	Larnaka	Larnaka Local Authority Cultural Services
AS05	Michael Zampelas	Male	Nicosia	Collector and Private Museum Owner
AS06	Yiannis Toumazis	Male	Nicosia	Director of Municipal Arts Centre/ Curator
AS07	Maria Stathi	Female	Nicosia	Gallery Director: Omikron
AS08	Elena Parpa	Female	Nicosia	Art writer/ Curator
AS09	Tasos Stylianou	Male	Limassol	Gallery Director: 50-1
AS10	Nicos Tornaritis	Male	Nicosia	Member of Parliament

These interviews were conducted between July and September 2012.

Appendix 4: Sample of Interview Consent Form

Research on the situation of visual artists in Cyprus

Interview Consent form

- □ I volunteer to participate in the research project conducted by Niki Zanti. I understand that the study aims to investigate the situation of visual artists in Cyprus.
- □ Participation in the study involves an interview which will last approximately 90 minutes. I agree to be interviewed for the purposes of the study and consent to the audio-taping of the interview.
- □ I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any report and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. I recognise that the researcher has obtained research ethics approval and that the data obtained by her is subject to standard data policies designed to protect the participant.
- □ I can refuse to answer any question or to stop the interview at any time; withdrawing from the project will not result in negative consequences for me.
- □ I understand that the study has been reviewed and approved by a Research Ethics Committee as well as the Data Protection Office in Cyprus.
- □ I have read and understand the explanation provided to me and have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction. The purpose and nature of the interview is clear and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
- □ I have been given a copy of this consent form.

My Printed Name _____ My Signature _____

If you have any questions regarding the research you may contact Niki Zanti

Phone number: 99349737 | Email: nikizanti@gmail.com

I have explained the details of the research study and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation..

Interviewer's Printed Name Interviewer's Signature

Niki Zanti _____ _____

Έρευνα για την κατάσταση των εικαστικών καλλιτεχνών στη Κύπρο

Έντυπο Συγκατάθεσης

- □ Συμμετέχω εθελοντικά στην ερευνητική εργασία που διεξάγει η Νίκη Ζαντή. Η μελέτη της έχει ως στόχο να διερευνήσει την κατάσταση των εικαστικών καλλιτεχνών στη Κύπρο.
- □ Η συμμετοχή μου στη μελέτη περιλαμβάνει μια συνέντευξη η οποία θα διαρκέσει περίπου 90 λεπτά. Συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω στη συνέντευξη και συγκαταλέγω στην ηχογράφηση της για τους σκοπούς της έρευνας.
- □ Καταλαβαίνω ότι η έρευνα είναι εμπιστευτική και το όνομα μου δεν θα συμπεριληφθεί σε κανένα έγγραφο. Το έντυπο συγκατάθεσης αποσκοπεί στην προστασία των δεδομένων μου και δεσμεύει την ερευνήτρια σε πλήρη εχεμύθεια.
- □ Αντιλαμβάνομαι ότι η έρευνα έχει εξεταστεί και εγκριθεί από την Ερευνητική Επιτροπή του Πανεπιστιμίου και από την Επιτροπή Προστασίας Δεδομένων Προσωπικού Χαρακτήρα στην Κύπρο.
- □ Μπορώ να αρνηθώ να απαντήσω σε οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση ή να σταματήσω τη συνέντευξη οποιαδήποτε στιγμή. Δεν θα οδηγηθώ σε οποιεσδήποτε αρνητικές συνέπειες σε περίπτωση που θέλω να αποσυρθώ από την μελέτη.
- □ Έχω διαβάσει και κατανοήσει την εξήγηση που μου δόθηκε και οι ερωτήσεις μου έχουν απαντηθεί ικανοποιητικά. Ο σκοπός και η φύση της συνέντευξης είναι σαφής και συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω σε αυτή τη μελέτη.
- □ Μου έχει δοθεί αντίγραφο του εντύπου συγκατάθεσης.

Το όνομα μου ολογράφως _____ Η υπογραφή μου _____

Ημερομηνία: _____/_____/_____

Εάν έχετε ερωτήσεις σχετικά με την έρευνα μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τη Νίκη Ζαντή
Τηλέφωνο: 99349737 | Email: nikizanti@gmail.com

Έχω εξηγήσει τις λεπτομέρειες της έρευνας και της συνέντευξης και πιστεύω ότι η συμμετοχή είναι συναινετική και ότι ο/η συμμετέχων αντιλαμβάνεται τα καθέκαστα της συνέντευξης.

Όνομα ερευνήτριας ολογράφως _____ Υπογραφή ερευνήτριας _____

Νίκη Ζαντή _____ _____

Appendix 5: Identifying Incidents and Generating Codes

This appendix includes samples of the initial stages of analysis. Each interview was first transcribed in Greek and analysed sentence by sentence for grammatical indications which could have been lost in translation. It was then translated into English and analysed further using line-by-line open coding. The 'comment balloons' on the right are the initial concepts written for the incidents found in each of the texts.

Example One shows the correlations between the grammatical indications and the content which helped me understand the meaning of the codes to the individual.

Example Two demonstrates how codes were extracted from incidents in the transcript and how higher level codes were generated.

Example One

Interview Number: I001
Interviewee: Female/ born 1958/ lives and works in Nicosia
Location of Interview: Nicosia- Argo Gallery
Date: 28/12/2011 at 17:00

Line	Grammar	Line	Content	Meaning
9-10	Γιατί τούτα ξέρεις εν τόσο γενικά που ούτε ξέρω αν μπορώ να σου απαντήσω.	9-10	Because these you know are so general that I don't even know if I can answer you.	Insecurity
10-14	Ούτε μπορώ να απαντήσω πως εξεκίνησα. Εγώ θα ήθελα, νομίζω είναι από την μελέτη της ίδιας της δουλειάς της δικής μου ότι απορίες έχεις πάνω στην ίδια την δουλειά, αλλά τόσο γενικές ερωτήσεις είναι τόσο δύσκολο γιατί, πρέπει να ξέρεις, ότι στις γενικές τις ερωτήσεις δεν έχει καμιά διαφορά αν είμαι εγώ ή αν είναι κάποιος άλλος.	10-13	Nor can I answer how I started. I would like, I think through the study of the actual work of my own, whatever queries you have on the actual work, but questions that are so general are so difficult because you must know that in general questions it makes no difference whether it is I or if is someone else	Defensive/ insecure- conjunction at beginning of sentence- used to continue the force of a negative -

Comment [001Gramma1]: 'Because'- conjunction at beginning of sentence

Comment [001Conten2]: Validation?

Comment [001Conten3]: Insecurity of being too general

Comment [001Gramma4]: Ούτε- conjunction at beginning of sentence- used to continue the force of a negative

Comment [001Conten9]: I do not know

Comment [001Conten10]: I do not know

Comment [001Conten11]: Important what happens at the moment, my art, focus on products, away from myself

Comment [001Gramma5]: Double ego: the actual work of **MY** OWN.

Comment [001Gramma6]: Την ιδία την δουλειά - adverb enhances noun

Comment [001Conten12]: Validation ?

Comment [001Gramma7]: Τόσο γενικές- two adjectives, τόσο δύσκολο- adjective+ adjective used as adverb

Comment [001Conten13]: Seeks distinctiveness

Comment [001Gramma8]: Article not necessary

14	Πως εξεκίνησα εσύ θα μπορούσες για τον εαυτό σου να απαντήσεις;	13-14	How I started, could you for yourself answer that?	Defensive/ deflecting
22	Νίκη μου, τούτο το κομμάτι όμως που νομίζεις ότι ενδιαφέρει την ιστορία της τέχνης.	21	My Niki, this part though how do you think concerns the history of art?	Insecurity- does not want to answer the question- asks a question back instead
24	Εν μια προσωπική, εν μια παραπάνω... εν θέμα μυθηστορήματος, αντί επιστημονικό.	23-24	It's a personal, it is more of a... This is a matter for a novel, instead of scientific.	Loss of words- feels threatened
25	Γιατί κάπως έτσι νομίζεις ότι, αλλά μπορεί τούτο να είναι μια συγκυρία, η αφορμή του πως άρχισες αλλά εν είναι σημαντικό.	24-25	Because you think something this way, but this might be a coincidence, the causation of how you started but it's not important.	Threatened/ Avoids question- Not finishing sentence- leaving the conclusion. sentence needs second verb.
30-31	Αλλά εγώ προσωπικά δεν μπορώ να σου απαντήσω γιατί δεν έχω απάντηση σε τούτο.	29-30	But I personally cannot answer you because I don't have an answer to this.	Double use of I- reinforcing what she is saying- regaining power?
35-36	Τούτα είναι θέματα ανάλυσης που μπορεί να τα κάμει κάποιος βιογράφος αλλά εγώ δεν είμαι βιογράφος, εγώ είμαι καλλιτέχνης.	33-34	These questions are subjects of analysis that a biographer would do but I am not a biographer, I am an artist.	I am not a biographer, I am an artist— reinforcing occupational identity
37-38	Οπόταν αν εσύ μέσα από την μελέτη της δουλειάς μου μπορείς να δώσεις μιαν απάντηση ίσως να ήταν ενδιαφέρον.	35-36	So if you, through the study of my work can give an answer to this, perhaps it would be interesting.	Emphasis on 'you'. Important what happens at the moment, my art, focus on products, away from myself

Comment [001Conten15]: Deflecting , away from myself

Comment [001Gramma14]: Two questions within one

Comment [001Conten17]: The part about how she started with art.

Comment [001Conten18]: Has her own theoretical perspective about what concerns the art world

Comment [001Gramma16]: Sentenc e order- begins with demonstrative pronoun-correction: Πώς νομίζεις ότι ενδιαφέρει την ιστορία της τέχνης τούτο το κομμάτι;

Comment [001Conten20]: I do not want to say- threatened

Comment [001Conten21]: Devalues personal experiences- or afraid to say her own experiences

Comment [001Conten22]: Aware of University research status.

Comment [001Gramma19]: It's a, it's a more, it's a... thinking of what the question is about.

Comment [001Gramma23]: Not finishing sentence- leaving the conclusion. sentence needs second verb.

Comment [001Conten24]: I might say something which you might misinterpret. I am afraid

Comment [001Conten25]: How I started is not important. Why? Not successful then. Validating her work now.

Comment [001Gramma26]: 'But'- Conjunction in beginning of sentence

Comment [001Conten28]: Double ego

Comment [001Gramma27]: Double ego- me personally.

Comment [001Conten29]: I don't know

Comment [001Gramma30]: Adjectiv e

Comment [001Conten32]: I do not know. It is not my job to know?

Comment [001Conten33]: I am not a biographer- strengthens next statement

Comment [001Conten34]: I am an artist- validating position

Comment [001Gramma31]: Compou nd complex. Two independent clauses- one dependent

Comment [001Gramma35]: Starts with conjunction

Comment [001Conten36]: Important what happens at the moment, my art, focus on products, away from myself

38-40	Ή μπορείς να βγάλεις ένα γενικό συμπέρασμα για τους κύπριους τους καλλιτέχνες, κάτω από ποιες συνθήκες ασχίζει να τους ενδιαφέρει η τέχνη, βιογραφικά μπορείς να μας λύσεις και εμάς κάποιες μας απορίες.	36-38	Or you can extract a general conclusion about Cypriot artists, under what circumstances they start to become interested in art, biographically you might solve some queries for us as well.	Commonalities between artists- life stories
47	Ναι αλλά δεν ξέρω αν ένας μουσικός μπορεί να πει τι είναι ο ορισμός της μουσικής.	45	Yes, but I do not know if a musician can say what the definition of music is.	I don't know what the definition of art is.
48	Ειδικά σε τούτη την εποχή που εν έχει τόση σημασία αν είναι εικαστικό ή κάτι άλλο.	46	Especially in this era where it doesn't really matter whether it is visual art or something else.	Dependent clause- it doesn't matter what art is…
49	Είναι μια εποχή που τα πράγματα νεκατώνουνται τόσο μεταξύ τους που τι σημαίνει εικαστικό…	47	It is a time when things are jumbled so much between them that, what does visual mean…	Broad definition of the visual arts- uncertainty how to define them
50	Δηλαδή νομίζεις ότι τούτα τα ερωτήματα δεν απατούνται από θεωρήματα τέχνης;	48	So you think that these questions are not answered by theorems of art?	Asking question back- deflecting
51-53	Δηλαδή μήπως τούτα τα ερωτήματα μπορείς να τα απαντήσεις, ή να δώσεις ορισμούς που μπορεί και να διαφωνούν μεταξύ τους αλλά εσύ να δεις, αφού απαντήσεις σε τούτα τα πράγματα, μέσω	48-50	So perhaps these questions you can answer, or give definitions that might contradict each other but you can see, having given answers to these things, through these things how do you approach the artists?	Disclaiming responsibility, mumbling words

Comment [001Gramma37]: Starts with conjunction

Comment [001Gramma38]: word- interjection, function: expression of emotion

Comment [001Conten39]: I don't know what the definition of art is.

Comment [001Conten41]: Time: in this era

Comment [001Gramma40]: Dependent clause which stands alone

Comment [001Conten42]: Is anything art? Cannot put parameters on art

Comment [001Conten45]: I do not know.

Comment [001Gramma43]: Conjunction- Introduces dependent clauses/ unfinished clause.

Comment [001Gramma44]: 'what does visual mean'- question with no question mark.

Comment [001Gramma46]: Starts sentence with particle- function word- illustrates something that was aforementioned

Comment [001Conten47]: Asking question again- feels threatened?

Comment [001Gramma48]: Starts sentence with particle- function word- illustrates something that was aforementioned

Comment [001Conten52]: I cannot answer these questions, you should address these. Not my job

Comment [001Gramma49]: First part of sentence- question

Comment [001Gramma50]: Dependent clause on first independent sentence.

Comment [001Conten53]: You can have contradicting definitions of the artist
You need to find these definitions
The questions you ask can be found in existing theorems
You can make a deduction of your own after having studied these theorems

	τούτων των πραγμάτων πως πλησιάζεις τους καλλιτέχνες;			
55-56	Οι θεωριτικοί τέχνης, που δεν είναι εικαστικοί, έχουν δώσει διάφορους ορισμούς για τουτα τα πράματα, αλλά εγώ δεν είμαι θεωριτικός τέχνης, εγώ είμαι καλλιτέχνης.	52-53	Art theorists, who are not artists, have given various definitions for these things, but I am not an art theorist, I am an artist.	I am an artist- only short, simple question in text- decisive- absolute
60-61	Γιατί εγώ θεωρώ a priori ότι εκείνο που κάνω είναι γύρω από τέτοιου είδους θέματα.	57	Because I consider *a priori* that what I do is around such issues.	Artists' perception correlates with institution's
61-63	Αλλά εαν σου έδινα τέτοια απάντηση, αν μπορούσα να απαντήσω σε τούτο το πράγμα, είναι σαν να σου έλεγα ότι είμαι πεποισμένη ότι τούτο που κάνω είναι όντως τέχνη, δεν είμαι καθόλου πεποισμένη για τούτο το πράμα.	58-59	But if I had given such an answer, if I could answer to this, it would be like telling you that I am convinced that what I am doing is indeed art, I am not convinced of this at all	Insecurity about profession? Uncertainty for art. I do not know if this is art. I do not know if I am an artist- Using complex sentence
63-64	Είναι η ιστορία της τέχνης που θα το κρίνει τούτο και ένας θεωρητικός.	59-62	It is the history of art that will judge this, and a theorist	Power and authority to others- sentence structure gives weight to 'history of art' as well- correlation
64-66	Οπόταν με βάζεις μέσα σε πλαίσια τα οποία δεν είναι του τομέα μου. Εγώ κατασκευάζω πράγματα, σκέφτομαι και	60-63	So you are putting me in frames which are not in my field, I construct things, think and construct things, around issues	Defensive, does not want to feel restricted-

Comment [001Gramma51]: Long sentence- complex- complex sentence: one independent clause and two dependent clauses which contain imbedded dependent clauses

Comment [001Conten58]: I am not an art theorist, I am not a biographer- unsure about who an artist is. Definitive of what an artist is not.

Comment [001Gramma54]: Depend ent clause with imbedded dependent clause

Comment [001Conten59]: I am an artist, validating profession

Comment [001Gramma55]: Indepen dent clause

Comment [001Gramma56]: Depend ent clause

Comment [001Gramma57]: Complex - complex sentence.

Comment [001Gramma60]: Starts with conjunction

Comment [001Gramma61]: Two dependent clauses

Comment [001Gramma62]: Starts with conjunction

Comment [001Conten64]: I cannot answer to this question

Comment [001Conten65]: Insecurity about profession? Uncertainty for art. I do not know if this is art. I do not know if I am an artist

Comment [001Gramma63]: Complex -complex sentence.

Comment [001Conten67]: Power to art history

Comment [001Gramma66]: Η ιστορία της τέχνης και ένας θεωριτικός θα το κρίνει τούτο το πράμα. – είναι is a verb which has no use in the sentence-

Comment [001Gramma68]: Starts with conjunction

Comment [001Conten69]: Feels threatened- threatened by control- general for artists?

Comment [001Conten70]: Asking questions which cannot answer-threatened

Comment [001Conten71]: I construct things- how she works

	κατασκευάζω πράγματα γύρω από θέματα τα οποία με απασχολούν.		that concern me.	
66-68	Αν όμως τούτα τα πράματα είναι τέχνη ή δεν είναι τέχνη, είναι εικαστικό ή είναι κάτι άλλο δεν με απασχολεί καθόλου εμένα.	62	If these things are art or not art, if it is visual art or if it is something else, it does not concern me at all.	Labels are not important/ defining art is not important
70-71	Η ίδια όι, δεν είμαι εγώ που θεωρώ τον εαυτό μου καλλιτέχνη, ο χώρος, ο κοινωνικός χώρος που με δέχεται, με δέχεται σαν καλλιτέχνη.	65-66	Personally no, it is not I that considers myself an artist, the space, the social space that accepts me, accepts me as an artist.	Emphasis on the fact that she does not have the authority to define herself an artist
71-72	Δηλαδή εγώ που μόνη μου δεν θα μπορούσα να καθορίσω τα πράγματα μου σαν τέτοια.	66-67	Ergo, I by myself would not be able to determine my work as such.	Reinforcing the idea that her profession is defined by an authority
72-75	Τα πράγματα μου σαν τέτοια εν καθορισμένα γιατί ζω μέσα από την δουλειά μου, γιατί κάποιοι αγοράζουν τα έργα μου, γιατί κάποιοι φιλοξενούν τις εκθέσεις μου, γιατί κάποιοι μπέννουν στον κόπο να πληρώσουν για να έχουν τα έργα ή να τα μεταφέρουν για εκθέσεις…	67-69	My work is determined as such because I make a living from my work, because some people buy my art, because some people host my exhibitions, because some go through the trouble of paying to have the work or to transport exhibitions…	Institutional definition of art
77-80	Οπότε είναι μια σειρά πραγμάτων που είναι θεωριτικού επιπέδου, που είναι κάποιοι άλλοι	71-73	So there is a number of things that are on a theoretical level, where there are others who determine the course of art history and in that	Vague about 'things' that that determine the history of art- vague

Comment [001Conten72]: Subject of her work are issues that concern her.

Comment [001Gramma73]: Starts with conjunction

Comment [001Conten75]: Labels are not important.

Comment [001Conten76]: Does not know how to answer to question what is art

Comment [001Gramma74]: The majority of sentences in above paragraph are dependent clauses and start with conjunctions-

Comment [001Gramma77]: Phrase

Comment [001Conten79]: I am not an artist because I proclaim myself to be.

Comment [001Gramma78]: Noun, repeated adjective and noun.

Comment [001Conten80]: Society considers her an artist

Comment [001Gramma81]: Start with conjunction

Comment [001Conten83]: Double ego- reinforcing self confidence

Comment [001Gramma82]: Εγώ has no function in the sentence- εγώ από μόνη μου-

Comment [001Conten84]: I do not say what is art

Comment [001Gramma85]: Verb used as adjective

Comment [001Conten87]: Statement 1: I am an artist because I make my living from work

Comment [001Conten88]: Statement 2: I am an artist because some people buy my art

Comment [001Conten89]: Statement 3: I am an artist because people host my exhibitions- institutional definition

Comment [001Conten90]: Statement 4: I am an artist because I people buy my work

Comment [001Conten91]: Statement 5: I am an artist because I am asked to exhibit

Comment [001Conten92]: Institution al definition of art

Comment [001Gramma86]: Series of dependant sentences

Comment [001Conten94]: I do not know the theoretical level- uncertain of personal knowledge?

Comment [001Conten95]: Conscious of authority- others determine her status.

	που καθορίζουν την πορεία της ιστορίας της τέχνης και μέσα σε εκείνην την πορεία σε τούτο το διάστημα που εγώ ζω μπορώ να εξακριβώνω κάποιες συμμετοχές που είναι σημαντικές και μπορούν να με εντάξουν σε τούτην την οικογένεια..		course, at this period of time that I live, I can acquire some entries that are significant enough and can incorporate me in this family…	about who is the 'others' who determine art history- does not know who but is conscious of authority.
87-88	Ήδη από χώρο σε χώρο διαφέρει πάρα πολύ.	80	Already from place to place this varies enormously.	Differentiates locations- explains that there are places where more opportunities exist
98-100	Δηλαδή το σύστημ.α από μόνο του, το Κυπριακό σύστημα, το Κυπριακό, κοινωνικό και πολιτικό σύστημα δεν έχουν εντάξει τον καλλιτέχνη στο πρωτόκκολο του	90-91	So the system itself, the Cypriot system… the Cypriot social and political system has not incorporated the artist in its protocol.	Complaining about Cypriot system
103-105	Και είναι μια προσπάθεια που κάνουμε. Οπόταν ερχόμαστε μέσα από παράλληλα πράγματα, τούτο όμως μπορείς πάρα πολύ καλά να το δεις σε δυο υπηρεσίες, που είναι οι κοινωνικές ασφαλήσεις και το ΦΠΑ.	94-95	And it's an effort we make. So we come through parallel avenues, but you can see this very well in two services, which are the social insurance program and VAT.	Short sentence- she does not use these often- previous short sentence- I am an artist- this is an effort we make. Correlation? Where she is most powerful/ proud

Comment [001Conten96]: Time: positive or negative?

Comment [001Conten97]: Judged by the authorities mentioned above

Comment [001Conten98]: Passive

Comment [001Gramma93]: Long sentence. Complex- complex sentence: one independent clause and three dependent with one imbedded dependent clause

Comment [001Gramma99]: Phrase

Comment [001Conten100]: First it depends on the place-

Comment [001Gramma101]: Start with dependent

Comment [001Conten103]: It's not our system, THE system

Comment [001Conten104]: Complaint.
The system in Cyprus is flawed

Comment [001Gramma102]: Adjective + noun, adjective, adjective + adjective + noun.

Comment [001Gramma105]: Start with conjunction

Comment [001Conten107]: Effort made by artist association- to fix things?

Comment [001Conten108]: Social Insurance Programme and VAT are their main issues

Comment [001Gramma106]: Start with conjunction- two dependent clauses

106-108	Οπόταν από μόνοι μας αν θέλουμε να είμαστε νόμιμοι κάμνουμε κάποιες εταιρίες που πια, που εφόσον δουλεύουμε και εφόσον παράγουμε και εφόσον πουλούμε θα πρέπει να πληρώνουμε την συμβολή μας	96-98	Thus by ourselves if we want to be legitimate, we set up some companies, which since we work and since we produce and since we sell, we should have to pay our contribution,	Conjunction in beginning of sentence does not mean anything- used constantly. illegitimate
112-114	Οπόταν τούτο ήδη αλλάζει πάρα πολύ τα πράγματα γιατί μπορούμε να είμαστε ίσοι όπως ένας καλλιτέχνης σε μιαν άλλη χώρα όπως επήσεις να συμμετέχουμε σε διαγωνισμούς, το να πληρωνόμαστε από άλλες χώρες…	101-102	So already this changes things very much because we can be equal to an artist in another country as well as participate in competitions, get paid from other countries	Dependent clauses in one sentence- flow of thought- remembering or making it up?
120	Πιο εύκολο όχι, γιατί έχει άλλες δυσκολίες αλλά είναι δυνατό.	109	Easier no, because there are other difficulties, but it is possible.	Unsatisfied
142-144	Τα ίδια πράγματα θα σου πω. Να διαβάσεις άλλες συνεντεύξεις και να κάνεις την δική σου ανάλυση, γιατί να αρχίσω εγώ να σου λέω για την ζωή μου, ξέρεις, είναι τούτο που σου έλεα πριν, είναι καθαρά βιογραφικό θέμα που εν είναι καθόλου απλό.	128-130	I will tell you the same things. You should read other interviews and do your own analysis, because should I begin to tell you about my life, you know, it is what I was telling you before, it's a purely biographical subject which isn't simple at all.	Does not want to repeat- they might not be the same thing
144-145	Ναι, και το άλλο είναι, από συνεντεύξεις	130-131	Yes, and the other is from my interviews with the press	Reinforcing reputation

Comment [001Gramma109]: Start with conjunction

Comment [001Conten110]: Resentment that this is done from own initiative

Comment [001Conten111]: You could be illegitimate as well- some artists are

Comment [001Conten112]: How they work with the system

Comment [001Conten113]: Viewing work as business- comparing in same way- work, produce, sell= creation of product- distribution. What does this mean?

Comment [001Conten114]: Respect for the law and social construct

Comment [001Gramma115]: Start with conjunction

Comment [001Conten117]: Previously experienced inequality?

Comment [001Gramma116]: Dependent clause + dependent clause + imbedded dependent clause + dependent clause + imbedded dependent clause. → all sentences are dependent sentences

Comment [001Gramma118]: Phrase

Comment [001Conten119]: She is afraid? Since one obstacle has passed she's considering

Comment [001Conten121]: Does not want to repeat- they might not be the same thing

Comment [001Conten122]: Advice on methodology

Comment [001Gramma120]: Να: Suggestive of actions.

Comment [001Conten123]: I do not know what to say

Comment [001Gramma124]: word- interjection, function: expression of emotion

Comment [001Conten125]: Confirming to herself that what she is saying is right

Comment [001Conten126]: Interviews with the press are different types of interviews

Example Two

Interview Number: I019
Interviewee: Male/ born 1956/ lives and works in Nicosia
Location of Interview: Café in Nicosia
Date: 24/05/2012 at 15:00

Line	Incidents	Codes
8 9-11 14	I wouldn't know that, this was how I was born. I don't have a start date… I did some things which if I judge them now they were artistic tendencies, it was since primary school, even though I never did painting, as an art subject in primary school So I was in the third grade… but I think, I feel that I brought it with me.	Myth of the artist: innate inclination to art
8-11 14	I wouldn't know that, this was how I was born. I don't have a start date, I remember since primary school, since secondary school, I did some things which if I judge them now they were artistic tendencies, it was since primary school, even though I never did painting, as an art subject in primary school So I was in the third grade… but I think, I feel that I brought it with me.	Inclination to art: since young age
11-14	Even so, I remember all my notebooks with the geography maps, physics where we had plants then, or history books. I remember my first portrait was that of Kolokotroni who had a crooked nose and a braid and I knew I could get him right.	Artist's process: inspiration
23-24 27-28	So already the passion was intense, to decide on my own that I wanted to change school … but it wasn't something which- it was my own desire.	Artist's relationship to art: art as passion
259-260	They play on the emotional relationship of the artist with his work [2s]	Artist's relationship to artwork
27-28	Ok, there was a consent for me to go to a private school and study architecture but it wasn't something which- it was my own desire	Support from family
32-33 33-35	You know, the important thing was having someone telling you- encouraging you. It wasn't about the lessons themselves. I might have done five lessons- ten, but the important thing was having someone- someone to appreciate you, to push you.	Encouragement from art teacher
28-29 30-32	And systematically I started spending time doing art.	Art lessons at formative years

Comment [019conten127]: Innate inclination to art- unexplained

Comment [019conten128]: Not mechanical attachment to art

Comment [019conten129]: Knowledge gained as artist

Comment [019conten130]: Not labelling them talent- tendency towards art

Comment [019conten131]: Inclination to art since young age

Comment [019conten132]: Sets start period around that portrait

Comment [019conten133]: Uncertain of statement

Comment [019conten134]: Uncertain of statement

Comment [019conten135]: Innate inclination to art- myth of the artist/ unexplained.

Comment [019conten136]: Innate inclination to art- myth of the artist/ unexplained

Comment [019conten137]: Not mechanical attachment to art

Comment [019conten138]: Knowledge gained as artist

Comment [019conten139]: Not labelling them talent- tendency towards art

Comment [019conten140]: Sets start period around that portrait

Comment [019conten141]: Innate inclination to art- unexplained.

Comment [019conten142]: Inspiration drawn from elements available

Comment [019conten143]: First portrait—reinforcing idea that he was doing art since young age.

Comment [019conten144]: Art as passion

Comment [019conten145]: Emotional relationship between artist and their work

Comment [019conten146]: Supported by family

Comment [019conten147]: Encouragement for art- important

Comment [019conten148]: Not giving weight to art lessons

Comment [019conten149]: Encouragement for art- important

Comment [019conten150]: Consistent in desire to do art- focus

33-35	[3s] but actual lessons, just a few lessons, I mean it was coincidental, Lefteris Economou was my sister's neighbor and I did some lessons with him. It wasn't about the lessons themselves. I might have done five lessons- ten, but the important thing was having someone- someone to appreciate you, to push you.	
46-50	So, after my studies in Bucharest, which lasted five years I went to Paris. It was a competition again Pris Matisse which was organized by the French Embassy and it was a one year scholarship for an artist to do something like free studies in Paris and I had enrolled to a school of fine arts in Paris.	Further education
51-56	And we had some meetings during the year. I did some things, he saw them, he told me you don't need to come, I already had five or six years of activity, I had done some large artworks, I mean the studies were a bit # they were better because I met the atmosphere in the university and the [4s] fermentation let's say. I went to some lectures, to some other things they had, for the spirit. But I was working in my studio there.	Self directed study
58 65-67	Then when I finished- now I continue to go back and forth I learned to [3s] every place I live, either Athens, or Paris, or Cyprus, I am able to make a living there. That means, if I am in France, I need to be doing something- I don't- I don't live there just for show	Mobile artist
61-62	Recently I am more in Cyprus because I've had to- for family reasons mostly- my father was old and I had to be here #	Mobility: affected by personal reasons
58-59 62-63	Then when I finished- now I continue to go back and forth. I never interrupted my relationship with France and that's why that year I spent in Paris was very important: ... the professional obligations, I am- I am in Paris when I need to be. The obligations I have, determine that.	Networking- maintaining contacts
133-136	It happened with me and a gallery in Germany, where they saw my dossier and invited me to go to Belgium, because they looked for a specific thing and they found it. And when you look through the internet, you'll see that the specific artist works with these materials # Perhaps financially a gallery can't afford to do	Networking: internet

Comment [019conten151]: Actual lessons—necessary?

Comment [019conten152]: Few lessons- not many

Comment [019conten153]: Did not pursue art lessons-

Comment [019conten154]: Art lessons

Comment [019conten155]: Not giving weight to art lessons

Comment [019conten156]: Encouragement for art- important

Comment [019conten157]: First degree- Bucharest- five years

Comment [019conten158]: Artist won another scholarship

Comment [019conten159]: Free studies- flexibility in studies

Comment [019conten160]: Further education- Paris

Comment [019conten161]: Emphasis on self directed studies

Comment [019conten162]: Experienced

Comment [019conten163]: Emphasis on personal achievement- not supported by school anymore-

Comment [019conten164]: Freedom in studies- self directed was better

Comment [019conten165]: Engaging with course

Comment [019conten166]: Studio in Paris- producing work

Comment [019conten167]: Mobile artist

Comment [019conten168]: Making a living from art

Comment [019conten169]: Mobility of artist

Comment [019conten170]: Family responsibilities/obligations interfere wit ...

Comment [019conten171]: Mobile artist

Comment [019conten172]: Networking- keeping connected to contacts

Comment [019conten173]: Milestone e in artist's career- important for ...

Comment [019conten174]: No reservations on travel- professional ...

Comment [019conten175]: Obligated professionally- by gallery?

Comment [019conten176]: Artist invited through portfolio- online?

Comment [019conten177]: Networking/ connections through internet- artist ...

137-141	these things but if it has a systematic way to work, I believe they can do it without- to say that they devote 15 euro for each artist, for each exhibition, and all the dossiers can be sent electronically. So it is a matter of working through the internet as well and doing networking, which I think they need a lot of work	
60-61	I mean I've had a studio since then, I continue to do, I live there as well	Artist's practice: studio abroad
190-191	Theoretically I am an artist who produces a lot of work. I have never been able to figure out how much I earn.	Artist's practice: earnings
69-72	One of them is the gallery; I systematically exhibit in two-three galleries, an exhibition in Cyprus every 2-3 years, an exhibition in Athens every 2-3 years or in Switzerland, or Germany, or in- I mean- I divide my time	Exhibition of work: gallery
101-103	Usually for large projects, which are projects that need financial assistance to produce, galleries don't become involved in this thing.	Collaboration with gallery: financial assistance
103 103-105 107 126-128 141-142	Galleries only want to profit. So we avoid to [2s] to make a large investment and exhibit it in a gallery because they would then get their commission, 40%, the other 40% would be the costs and then you are left with nothing. …but galleries in Cyprus do not work very professionally So it means that you work so that the gallery will get its percentage- nothing like this happens. The gallery is interested until they get their percentage and they don't do anything beyond that. Because then the person starts to worry that it is a scam because, the gallerist just waits for the artist to work so he could get his commission	Collaboration with gallery: critical about gallery in Cyprus- exploitation
105-107 109	I always put a strong piece in the exhibition and ask for a different agreement- I say "look, I made these expenses"- but galleries in Cyprus do not work very professionally. I exhibit in one consistently.	Collaboration with gallery: agreements
109-114	I exhibit in one consistently. From the beginning I tried to have, with my associates I didn't want to be… a bee. In Cyprus the easiest thing to do, the most practical system, to earn the most is to move from one gallery to the	Collaboration with gallery: commitment to gallery

Comment [019conten178]: Not excuse—does not make allowances for this

Comment [019conten179]: Use of electronic resources- minimises costs

Comment [019conten180]: Networking and galleries

Comment [019conten181]: Maintaining studio- costs

Comment [019conten182]: Presupposes that he in fact, does not produce a lot of work-

Comment [019conten183]: Continuous production of work

Comment [019conten184]: Issues with artist's practice- does not know true income- organisation of art practice

Comment [019conten185]: Systematic- every two/three years (turnover)

Comment [019conten186]: Exhibits in galleries

Comment [019conten187]: Organisation of art practice- Time management

Comment [019conten238]: Exhibits in galleries

Comment [019conten188]: Cost of producing art work

Comment [019conten189]: Support by galleries- financial assistance

Comment [019conten190]: Critical about galleries- profit

Comment [019conten191]: Artists in general

Comment [019conten192]: Smaller investments for galleries

Comment [019conten193]: Critical about galleries- commission-investment

Comment [019conten194]: Critical about galleries in Cyprus- professional

Comment [019conten195]: Artist does not approve of gallery's persentage

Comment [019conten196]: Critical about gallery- commission

Comment [019conten197]: Feels exploited by gallery

Comment [019conten198]: Critical about gallery- negotiation

Comment [019conten199]: Critical about galleries in Cyprus- professional

Comment [019conten200]: Gallery in Cyprus- consistently exhibits in one- commitment to gallery

Comment [019conten201]: Gallery in Cyprus- consistently exhibits in one- commitment to gallery

Comment [019conten202]: Equivalent with gallery- same status

	other, if one gallery has two clients you would get those, if the other one has another two you would get those- I find this very unethical, I mean I appreciate the work each gallery does, I choose the one which suits me best and is available at the time.	
114-115	I worked with Diaspro for ten years, it did exceptional work, then Diaspro closed down,	
116-118	When I say- what does a gallery need to do: the most important thing a gallery has to do, is do the work which an artist cannot.	Expectation from gallery
118	An artist produces his work and the gallery disseminates it.	
118-126	Meaning, they need to prepare a dossier, give them to various important people, to have strong connections, to have the ability to knock the door of a good collector, or of a museum, well, to this work which they would send out on a systematic basis. To inform the museums that # ten possible collections in Europe, ten possible museums in Europe, ten- spaces which showed they are interested or they that they might be interested, either in relation to the gallery's work or in relation to the artist's work, to create a follow up from which they become informed # either for large events such as Documenta, Biennales, various other exhibitions, all these things, none of them occur.	
142-145	He should be involved in the transportation of the artworks, the production of the artworks, to be interested during the exhibition, between two exhibitions- tell you things, see how you're working, bring you a client to sell some work.	
72-73	...and at the same time there are international exhibitions where I either represent Cyprus or they directly invite me to participate	Exhibition of work: international exhibitions
73-75	...and the other version is artworks commissioned for specific spaces, for example I finished a piece now for a company, for the entrance to the building.	Exhibition of work: commissions
69-71	I systematically exhibit in two-three galleries, an exhibition in Cyprus every 2-3 years, an exhibition in Athens every 2-3 years or in Switzerland, or Germany	Gap between exhibitions
145	How are you suppose to live for 2-3 years	
178-180	The problem is that if you come to my studio you'll see that there are artworks which were made 25 years ago for which- I pay rent to have them # [hahah] to have them there in boxes.	Artist's practice: producing work which isn't sold

Comment [019conten203]: Critical about artists moving between galleries in Cyprus- unethical

Comment [019conten204]: Respect/ commitment to gallery

Comment [019conten205]: Selection of gallery

Comment [019conten206]: Positive about Gallery/10 year commitment-

Comment [019conten207]: Gallery closed down- gallery pedigree

Comment [019conten208]: Expectations

Comment [019conten209]: Expectation from gallery- do the work artists cannot

Comment [019conten210]: Required work of the artist

Comment [019conten211]: Expectation from gallery- dissemination of artwork

Comment [019conten212]: Supporting argument- knowledgeable of gallery work

Comment [019conten213]: Connections/networking also the work of galleries

Comment [019conten214]: Expectation from gallery- series of processes

Comment [019conten215]: Critical about gallery- does not meet artist's expectations

Comment [019conten216]: Expectation from gallery

Comment [019conten217]: Working on parallel projects

Comment [019conten218]: Representing Cyprus in international exhibitions- special- distinguishing self from other artists

Comment [019conten219]: Participation in international exhibitions

Comment [019conten220]: Commissioned work

Comment [019conten221]: Commissioned work for company-

Comment [019conten222]: Systematic- every two/three years (turnover)

Comment [019conten223]: Time between two exhibition is 2-3 years- irregular income

Comment [019conten224]: Not all artworks are sold

165-168	The most important problem which exists, which needs to be recognized is the issue of the inequality of the income, which isn't systematic, you don't get a salary every month and in two or three years you might not receive any income at all.	Irregular income
174-175	I mean, when you don't have an income how are you suppose to regulate your social insurance	
191-195	It has its up and downs I mean even if I know I earn ten thousand euro today I never know when the next one is going to be, neither do I know # the most I might know is when my previous income was. I never know when the next one will be. So I might have to make it last for three years. This is where the big insecurity lies.	
168-172	This nature of the work needs to be recognized, it needs to be recognized that [3s] for example in the beginning when I registered to VAT, they wanted to check me because I had a lot of expenses without much income. Because it was between two exhibitions. And there was a gap where I might have had some sporadic sales, one piece every five months, or every ten, or I don't know when, and the field doesn't understand this.	Irregular income- affecting VAT
69-72	I systematically exhibit in two-three galleries, an exhibition in Cyprus every 2-3 years, an exhibition in Athens every 2-3 years or in Switzerland, or Germany, or in- I mean- I divide my time	Time management
75-76	Or the 1% where there competitions. I mean I do artworks for public spaces as well.	Exhibition of work: competitions
76	All these together balance my activity in the field.	Multiple work sources
82-84	Well I had a project that I had started, and someone introduced himself as being the best welder in Cyprus, and when he went to do it he bent it and I lost 5 thousand euro.	Artist's collaboration with other people: production of work
84-86	I threw it out and went- I found another welder, a young man, who listened to me, yes, I want you to do this thing, this is my proposal, you can do this and this and this.	
94-97	…that means you need to know how to talk to people who have some patience as well, so that they understand that the work you do has some time sacrifice. I mean, it's not the same working hours with industrial efficiency.	
99-101	Yes, what I mean to say is that it depends who	

Comment [019conten225]: Issue artist has- Irregular income

Comment [019conten226]: One follows the other- consequential situations

Comment [019conten227]: Income fluctuates

Comment [019conten228]: Uncertai n of time of income- does not know where income is coming from

Comment [019conten229]: Repetitio n- uncertain

Comment [019conten230]: Does not know time period of next income- instability of artist

Comment [019conten231]: Income stretching until next source of income-

Comment [019conten232]: Identifie s source of insecurity—uncertainty of income impacts other issues

Comment [019conten233]: Register ed to VAT early in career.

Comment [019conten234]: Issues with VAT

Comment [019conten235]: Does not know when next source of income will be

Comment [019conten236]: Irregular income- gap between payments

Comment [019conten237]: Systemat ic- every two/three years (turnover)

Comment [019conten239]: Organisa tion of art practice- Time management

Comment [019conten240]: Winning competitions (1%)

Comment [019conten241]: Balance- stability

Comment [019conten242]: Multiple sources of income- working on various things simultaneously

Comment [019conten243]: Investme nt in own work

Comment [019conten244]: Collabor ator following artist's instructions

Comment [019conten245]: Difficulty collaborating with others

Comment [019conten246]: Producti on of work- time consuming

Comment [019conten247]: Not industrial production times- time

	you collaborate with- I collaborated with someone who failed before and then I collaborated with someone else who was good.	
93-94	E when you don't even know what you want exactly, and very often artists don't know, the experience is very important	Artist practice: experience
152-156 156-158 180-181	And then there's the other element, the state, I mean the state, at some point they should put some safeguards and say, the artist puts half the amount of social insurance, the gallerist depending on the commission he receives would give- it won't employ you as an employer, but he sold the work for you worth 20 thousand euro, 3% of that will go to social insurance # I mean, to be in- so that the state can come later when you're old and say, or if you have a disability or something, to be able to support you. They don't- there are some people, the state should comprehend some elements of the artist's profession, and the social insurance system should also.	Expectation from state- social insurance
162-165 203-205	It doesn't work, it doesn't work. There is no relationship between the social insurance system and the profession of the artist. No connection. You can be assigned to whatever category you want. As long as you declare that you are- I mean there isn't a category which would impose it, nor can it recognise your income. So why work? Why pay social insurance? [3s] If you put the least amount, with the proportional system you won't receive anything more. The least amount you can pay is 150 a month and that's a problem.	Critical about social insurance system
182-185	For example, in France, you need to take the receipts you have from the sales of your work in order to calculate the amount you would pay for social insurance. Meaning, if you have- and there is a minimum amount, I don't know exactly- but [2s] there is- this inequality is recognized. Society offers them a way to survive	Comparing Cyprus to other countries: state recognition
207-209 254-256	We are trying to put an order to all this uncertainty of our profession so that there is the appropriate establishment. Basically our goal is to recognize the term artist. There is a profession called visual artist it would be interesting if the artists went on strike now and said none of us will participate if you don't compensate us. [4s]	Artist association: recognition of the artist

Comment [019conten248]: Collaborations to produce work

Comment [019conten249]: Good and bad collaborations

Comment [019conten250]: Generalising- artists don't know what they want artwork to look like- working from aesthetics

Comment [019conten251]: Expectation from the state

Comment [019conten252]: State intervention- protection from state

Comment [019conten253]: Critical about existing social insurance system

Comment [019conten254]: Expectations from the state- state support system for artists

Comment [019conten255]: Artist afraid of old-age and social security

Comment [019conten256]: Critical about state

Comment [019conten257]: Repetition- social security system

Comment [019conten258]: Social security system not working for artist

Comment [019conten259]: Critical about social insurance system—uno4tqniw3e

Comment [019conten260]: No category for artists- artist want to be part of the business

Comment [019conten261]: Artist wants to be recognised by society- recognised by system.

Comment [019conten262]: Questioning the system= critical about the system

Comment [019conten263]: Cannot afford minimum amount to pay

Comment [019conten264]: France as example- drawing from experience

Comment [019conten265]: Social insurance system in France as model

Comment [019conten266]: Recognition of inequality of income

Comment [019conten267]: Recognition of artists by society and state- showi ...

Comment [019conten268]: Group effort

Comment [019conten269]: Association efforts to establish artist's profession.

Comment [019conten270]: Association aim- recognition of profession

Comment [019conten271]: Recognition of profession

Comment [019conten272]: Artists on strike- trade union power?

260-262	[2s] if the association decides not to participate, there will be others who will. Who say that I am not a part of the association and these kinds of [2s] earthly situations. I mean I can't say that artists are the best people for claiming their rights.	Artist association: critical of connection between artists
270-272	They did it anyway and put up bad pieces. We sent letters, we did protests, it is like you're talking to a wall. And then they say you're difficult, you don't collaborate well.	Artist association: communication with state
210-212 213-217 281-282	The Planning Authority tells you "you can't have a studio here- it is a zone for rural homes". I told her that an art studio isn't an industrial place, it is a place of spiritual creation. They don't recognise that Well, or [4s] various other issues, like the social insurance system, or health issues, which must have some order so that the nature of our profession is recognised, the conditions of the profession, the characteristics of the profession, so that the needs can be recognised and understood by various legislations Our Social Insurance System is considered good- but they have never recognised the existence of the profession.	Critical about state: profession not recognized by state
220-221 222-225   236-239   246-247

292-294	It seems that that it is a difficult chapter. Because all the organisations which tried to define the term artist, they didn't clarify it because they have [2s] they get stuck on issues of freedom of each person to create.	Definition of the artist: by authority
294-296	For every person- there is also the issue which others have resolved, what we said before with the French who say "bring me your first receipt that you sold in order to determine you to be an artist"- I also believe this to be harsh	Definition of the artist: by income
299-301	2s] You see, it's difficult for us to answer as well, I mean to give a precise term. Because you need to give a definition which will be valid from a legal aspect and from a [2s] it needs some study to define it	Definition of the artist: difficult defining artist
301-303 307-308 308-313	I say that whatever I produce as an intellectual being is art. My by-product. And when I think, and when I sketch, and when I draw, and when I produce an object which will leave from my hands and my mind I call it art. Whatever is produced by an artist and is intellectual property, meaning, includes the element of intellectual property, I call it art But when ready-made becomes included, or photography, where you press a button and it happens, when a work of art includes some kind of intellectual energy, when you convey an intellectual energy to an object, independent of the fact the means might be mechanical, but the piece is governed by meaning, then it is a work of art. But to define that you need to define who the artist is first which is even more difficult. [4s]	Definition of art: product of the artist

Comment [019conten296]: Difficulty defining artist

Comment [019conten297]: Definition of artist: by authority- organisations

Comment [019conten298]: Definition of the artist: unclear

Comment [019conten299]: Definition of artist: interfering with issues of freedom

Comment [019conten300]: Definition of the artist: by example of French- sale of artwork

Comment [019conten301]: Definition of the artist: difficulty defining term

Comment [019conten302]: Definition of the artist: legal and intellectual term

Comment [019conten303]: Definition: not easy task

Comment [019conten304]: Artist considers self intellectual being

Comment [019conten305]: Definition of art: anything produced by the artist

Comment [019conten306]: Definition of art: anything produced by the artist

Comment [019conten307]: Definition of artwork: anything produced by artist

Comment [019conten308]: Disagrees with readymade as art

Comment [019conten309]: Does not think highly of photography as art- definition of art: requires effort

Comment [019conten310]: Definition of art: meaningful object

Comment [019conten311]: Circular definition of art/artist

Appendix 6: Generating Concepts through Constant Comparison

There is constant comparison throughout the analysis. The codes generated from the first interview were compared to the codes emerging from the second interview, and then the third and so on. Then the codes from the second interview were compared to the third and fourth and so on. These correlations are named 'concepts' and are shown in the far left column.

Concepts [I001-I002]	Codes	Interview	Incidents
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I001	12-13 84 86 87 103-104
		I002	54-56 179-181 450-452 497-499
Defining artists	Authority in definition	I001	59-60 65-66 66 67-71
		I002	473-476
	Inability to define the artist	I001	45 46 47 48 52-53 62-63 70
		I002	471-472
Speaking through art	Focus on art rather than myself	I001	10-11 35-36 137-138
		I002	548-551 551-552 557-558
Social insurance	Confusion about Social Insurance Programmes	I001	87-90 94-96 96 99
		I002	337-339 341-344
Cultural services and the artists	Individual financial assistance by Cultural Services	I001	113 122
		I002	179-180 403-405

Situation of art/artists in Cyprus	Negativity about Cyprus	I001	84 87-90 90-91 93 118-120
		I002	212 393-394 396

Concepts [I001-I003]	Codes	Interview	Incidents
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I001	12-13 84 86 87 103-104
		I003	127-128 130-132 149-151 155-156 158 159-161 225-227
Defining artists	Authority in definition	I001	59-60 65-66 66
		I003	61-62 119-121
Speaking through art	Focus on art rather than myself	I001	10-11 35-36 137-138
		I003	49 51 191-192 354-358
Social insurance	Confusion about Social Insurance Programmes ≠ Understanding of Social Insurance Programmes	I001	87-90 94-96 96 99
		I003	251-253 253-254 257 263
Cultural services and the artists	Positive about Cultural Services ≠ Critical about Cultural Services	I001	113 122
		I003	371-372 374-376 414-415

Situation of art/artists in Cyprus	Critical about Cyprus	I001	84 87-90 90-91 93 118-120
		I003	60
Validation	Professional validation	I001	33-35 52-53 103-104 109-110
		I003	162-163
Insecurities	Insecurity about being an artist	I001	58-59
		I003	143-144
Artworks	Subject of artworks: things that concern the artist	I001	61
		I003	76-78 82-84 212-213
Networking-connections	Networking abroad	I001	119-120
		I003	169-171
Professional artist	Artist as entrepreneur	I001	96-99
		I003	237 239-242 244-248 251-253 253-254 257 263

Concepts [I001-I004]	**Codes**	**Interview**	**Incident**
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I001	12-13 84 86 87 103-104
		I004	111-115
Speaking through art	Focus on art rather than myself	I001	10-11 35-36 137-138
		I004	9 12
Cultural services and the artists	Positive about Cultural Services ≠ Critical about Cultural Services	I001	113 122
		I004	225 225-227

Networking-connections	Networking abroad	I001	119-120
		I004	33 69-70
Mobility	Mobility: Exhibitions abroad	I001	84-86
		I004	29 265-268

Concepts [I001-I005]	Codes	Interview	Incident
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I001	12-13 84 86 87 103-104
		I005	154-156
Defining artists	Inability to define the artist	I001	45 46 47 48 52-53 62-63 70
		I005	431
VAT	Issues with VAT	I001	94-96
		I005	366-367 369-371
Cultural services and the artists	Critical about Cultural Services	I001	113 122
		I005	285-287
	Positive about Cultural Services	I001	113-115 118-120
		I005	124-126
Comparison of Cyprus to Europe	Cyprus Vs Europe: Situation of artists	I001	120-122 77-79 80
		I005	231-232 234-235
	Cyprus Vs Europe: Legal framework	I001	81-82
		I005	235-239 363-366

Concepts [I002-I003]	Codes	Interview	Incidents
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I002	11 54-56 179-181 450-452

		I003	127-128 130-132 149-151 155-156 158 159-161 225-227
Speaking through art	Focus on art rather than myself	I002	548-551 551-552 557-558
		I003	49 51 191-192 354-358
Exhibitions	Moving exhibitions	I002	250-253 253-254
		I003	174-178
Social insurance	Confusion about Social Insurance Programmes ≠ Understanding of Social Insurance Programmes	I002	337-339 341-344
		I003	251-253 253-254 257 263
Cultural services and the artists	Positive about Cultural Services ≠ Critical about Cultural Services	I002	179-180 403-405
		I003	371-372 374-376 414-415
Situation of art/artists in Cyprus	Critical about Cyprus	I002	212 393-394 396
		I003	60
Networking	Networking: meeting people	I002	165-166 167-168 183-186
		I003	169-171
Artist process of work	One theme for artworks in solo exhibition	I002	256
		I003	220-223 228-233
Artist working process	Experimentation	I002	22-23 23-26 31-32 54-56 71 77-80

			503-504 505-506
		I003	140-142
	Becoming bored with art	I002	26 52-53
		I003	192-195
	Creating something new	I002	26 503-504 512-513
		I003	329-334
Inclination to art	Inclination to art since young age	I002	36-37
		I003	64-66
Art work	Definition of work of art	I002	479 495-497
		I003	8-9 29-32
	Artist likes his artwork	I002	258-259 294-295
		I003	217-219 221-223
	Audience like artist's artwork	I002	170 179 205-207
		I003	24-25 332-333
Artist's income	Compromise: income from not deriving from primary art activities	I002	118 127-128 129-130
		I003	132-134
		I003	143-144

Concepts [I002-I004]	Codes	Interview	Incidents
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I002	11 54-56 179-181 450-452
		I004	111-115
Speaking through art	Focus on art rather than myself	I002	548-551 551-552 557-558
		I004	9 12
Distractions	Love/art	I002	147-148 148-150 154-155
		I004	219-223
Luck	Good luck	I002	83
		I004	111

Cultural services and the artists	Positive about Cultural Services ≠ Critical about Cultural Services	I002	179-180 403-405
		I004	225 225-227
Time	Relationship of time with creativity	I002	80-82 108-110 135-139 271 276 292-294
		I004	38-39 39-41 43 45 47 49-50
Time	Pressured by time	I002	139 271
		I004	43-45 261-263 265
	Becoming an artist	I002	70-71 108-109
		I004	82-83 85-87
Networking	Networking: meeting people	I002	165-166 167-168 183-186
		I004	33
Artist process of work	One theme for artworks in solo exhibition	I002	256
		I004	12-14
	Obsessive with art	I002	72-74
		I004	38 101
	Becoming bored with art	I002	26 52-53
		I004	33-34 93-94
	Studio Space / Isolation in studio	I002	87-89 117
		I004	253-254
Insecurities of the artist	Insecurity about artworks	I002	47
		I004	112
Inclination to art	Inclination to art since young age	I002	36-37
		I004	52-54 55-59
Art work	Artist likes his artwork	I002	258-259 294-295
		I004	21

Artist's relationship to other artists	Friends who are artists	I002	187-188 203-204 438 440-441
		I004	118
Health	Health issues	I002	346
		I004	165-166
Artist's relationship with Gallery	Gallery commission	I002	182 187-188
		I004	355-356 359-361 363-365
Artist Association	Positive about belonging to association ≠ Critical of artist associations	I002	415-417 419 436-437
		I004	118-122 122-123 120-122

Concepts [I002-I005]	Codes	Interview	Incidents
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I002	11 54-56 179-181 450-452
		I005	154-156
Cultural services and the artists	Positive about Cultural Services ≠ Critical about Cultural Services	I002	179-180 403-405
		I005	124-126
Inclination to art	Inclination to art since young age	I002	36-37
		I005	8-10 14-15 23
Art work	Artist likes his artwork	I002	258-259 294-295
		I005	309-310 316
	Quality	I002	71-72 456 499-500
		I005	225-226
Artists collectives	Positive about belonging to association ≠ Critical of artist associations	I002	415-417 419 436-437
		I005	189-191
	Artists working in collaboration	I002	523 535-538

		I005	176-177 178-179
VAT	Issues with VAT	I002	332 334-335
		I005	366-367 369-371
Social insurance	Confusion about Social Insurance Programmes ≠ Understanding of Social Insurance Programmes	I002	337-339 341-344
		I005	388-397
Art as profession	Precariousness of profession	I002	129-130 131-132
		I005	193-194 194-199 201-203
Exhibitions	Importance of solo exhibition Vs group exhibition	I002	235-236 238
		I005	52-53
	Exhibition sales	I002	129 130 181-182 229-231 233-234
		I005	310-312
Defining artists	Inability to define the artist	I002	471-472
		I005	431
	Defining artists by art school education	I002	473-476
		I005	222-223 226-229
	Defining artist by the quality of their work	I002	473-476
		I005	225-226 229-231

Concepts [I003-I004]	Codes	Interview	Incidents
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I003	127-128 130-132 149-151 155-156 158 159-161 225-227
		I004	111-115
Speaking through art	Focus on art rather than myself	I003	51 191-192 354-358
		I004	9 12

Networking	Networking: meeting people	I003	169-171
		I004	69-70 33
Artist process of work	One theme for artworks in solo exhibition	I003	220-223 228-233
		I004	12-14
	Boredom/ avoiding boredom	I003	192-195
		I004	33-34 93-94
Definition of the artist	Skillful/Technician	I003	106 108-111
		I004	87-90
Inclination to art	Inclination to art since young age	I003	64-66
		I004	52-54 55-59
Art work	Artist likes his artwork	I003	217-219 221-223
		I004	21
Insecurities	Financial insecurities	I003	314-317 319-320 328-330 334-335 337-339
		I004	232-234 235
Professionalism	Artist career	I003	314-317
		I004	25 27
Time	Artist's age	I003	191-192 334-335
		I004	23
Artist's relationship to Gallery	Commitment to Gallery	I003	174-178

Concepts [I003-I005]	**Codes**	**Interview**	**Incidents**
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I003	127-128 130-132 149-151 155-156 158 159-161 225-227
		I005	154-156
Artist involved in art management	Administrative role in E.KA.TE.	I003	153
		I005	63-64

Artist process of work	Source of inspiration	I003	76-78 82-84 212-213
		I005	165-167
Definition of the artist	Defining visual art in terms of other art forms	I003	91-93 296-301
		I005	223-225
	Definition by membership to artist association	I003	119-121
		I005	435-439
Inclination to art	Inclination to art since young age	I003	64-66
		I005	8-10 14-15 23
Artwork	Public's response to artwork	I003	24-25
		I005	309-310 316
Insecurities	Financial insecurities	I003	314-317 319-320 328-330 334-335 337-339
		I005	69-70 72-73
Cultural Services	Positive about Cultural services ≠ Critical about cultural services	I003	371-372 374-376 414-415
		I005	124-126 253-254 254-257
	Corruption of the system	I003	378-381 382-387
		I005	109-113 285-287
Legal framework	Confusion about VAT ≠ Understanding of VAT	I003	263
		I005	358-359 359-363 371-377
	Confusion about Social Insurance Programme ≠ Understanding of Social Insurance Programme	I003	237 244-248 251-253 253-254 257
		I005	388-397

Concepts [I004-I005]	Codes	Interview	Incidents
Distinctiveness	Seeks distinctiveness from other artists	I004	111-115
		I005	154-156
Cultural services and the artists	Positive about Cultural Services ≠ Critical about Cultural Services	I004	225 225-227
		I005	124-126
Artist process of work	Subject of artist's inspiration	I004	238-239 244-247 250-251
		I005	165-167
	Obsessive with art	I004	38 101
		I005	10-11 20 146-148 199-201
Inclination to art	Inclination to art since young age	I004	52-54 55-59
			8-10 14-15 23
	Inspiration to art due to creative environment	I004	84-85
		I005	11-12 17-20
Artist Association	Favouritism Vs Impartiality	I004	118-122 122-123 120-122
		I005	109-113
Woman artists	Woman artist- mother: hindering creativity	I004	210-213 215-216
		I005	143-146 146-148 149-150 154-156 160-162

Appendix 7: Generating Properties and Categories

Properties and Categories were produced from the constant comparative analysis of concepts, codes and incidents. These are essentially themes arising from the interviews, organised in categories and subcategories. The analysis of interview transcripts generated 72 categories and about 160 properties in total. 10 of these can be seen below- *Distinctiveness; Inclination to art; Situation of art/artists in Cyprus; Insecurities; Cultural Services and the Artists; Speaking through art; Social Insurance; Definition of the artist; Validation; Artist's artworks*

Category: Distinctiveness			**1A**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Distinctiveness from other artists	I001	12-13	but questions that are so general are so difficult because you must know that in general questions it makes no difference whether it is I or if is someone else.
		84	I, however, at this moment, am not an example of the Cypriot space only
		86	Because I am in a place, where I am both inside and outside.
		87	And it's something I think which determines my presence here.
		103-104	…because I'm from a generation of artist, where previously, before our accession to the European Union we didn't even have the right…
	I002	11	I paint, umm, I didn't let it go…
		54-56	…I think there are very few painters, who before they become painters, when they are students let's say, students watching a teacher, just look at him, to sit and observe him for hours. And this was good for me.
		179-181	The cultural services bought from me… which isn't very common for a new artist. Usually they buy works from the second, and now they say the third solo exhibition.
		450-452	And it was the artwork beside the speech lets say, where the opening speech was taking place, who did a not so good piece which also had collage, even though he didn't work in collage for long as far as I remember…
		497-	Even though in the beginning, young

		499	artists I think we have this a bit. In the beginning, to impress.. something. And maybe that's why I did large canvases and beautiful colors and whatever…
	I003	127-128 130-132 149-151 155-156 158 159-161 225-227	But when I came back, there weren't others then who did animation. Yes, I came in 77', finished my studies. There wasn't anyone else then, I had exclusivity and I didn't take advantage of it, but I did animation, I was doing advertising, advertisements This thing that you say that it establishes you, you do your own, it's something very personal, ehmm, and the others… oh it's he who does the artworks of the city. Then we had to paint with oil paints. I told them I don't paint with oil paints, I do aquarelles with ink-pens. I tell them, this is my work. Well, where I come from, I am very famous for these… they sent me because I do this work. They didn't send me to do oil paintings. I did a series of 8-10 artworks that had to do, they were the first pieces which were called pop- surrealism. Post- pop-surrealism
	I004	111-115	But with my first exhibition in 81' eee.. immediately ee [2s] immediately. I didn't need let's say… meaning that you have to do one, two, three exhibitions to become known and then slowly slowly… you know… me, in my case the first exhibition I did was a good start. Very good start.
	I005	154-156	I find that in the course of my work, especially starting, let's say, from when I got married, there was great difficulty in bringing them all together. Because there was no help.
	I006	39-40	At the time exhibitions were made from much older artists, Diamantis, Victoris Ioannidis, and [heheh] I exhibited as well, I had my first exhibition.

		45-46 62-68	"which is the best school of fine arts?" They tell me: "The St. Martins", then. So I went there In retrospect, I remember I had noticed in our dear Diamantis' CV, that his greatest longing was that the same issue happened a few years before and he had failed to secure a place. Because places are limited. He wasn't able to secure a place and he had this bitterness inside him, that he could not get the Teacher's Training, and later, after many years when I found this out, I felt a bit happy let's say… that I did it.
	I007	72-74 218-220 224-226	The first thing was to, find alternative places to work, site specific let's say. Which did not exist then, we did not know the meaning of site specific after the one I resolved, it meant I had to decide if I would [1s] devote my energy to art as well. Because many people who studied art, fine art, and were appointed in schools in the 20 years that I've been in education, I did not give it up, I didn't fold, and I did the studio now as well- Anyway, this was a parenthesis.
	I008	148-149 250-253	First of all, in my generation there weren't any other artists, except Xari Paspali, and then more came. In this exhibition there was participation of 55 artists internationally, it was after a competition, and they had selected some artists for a residency, I was also invited but I told them I couldn't go, and then they invited 10 people for artists' talk, and I was one of them.
	I009	97-100	They selected me because of my work because I had already gone to some Biennale, I had already done some solo exhibitions, the Director of the Cultural Services then liked my work, without knowing me- just [3s] she saw the work and she liked it so I met her, she wanted to

		101-104 104-106	meet me. there are a lot of artists who do, not only me, but my sister happened to work [2s], my sister is a diplomat and she gave invitations to coworkers at the Ministry [2s] so it reached Nikita's hands… Nikita, because she worked with her, she came to see the exhibition and [2s] she liked my work [2s] from there. Because I told you, a lot of them do, but she doesn't go to everyone, their exhibitions, to see their work from there, I was just lucky
(b) Distinctiveness from other people	I002	36-37 144-145	Well, okay from when I was young I had the inclination to paint, like all kids now are involved with painting, but I liked it in particular, like music too. No, especially in art I think it's different… I think it takes you somewhere else, love for example.
	I008	315-319	Because you are not like common people, in the good sense, without wanting to say that we who are artists are different, we are wow. No. [3s] but a person who has his job, has his family, will go home and sit down to eat, and then he'll play card games, the things he will do are standard.. and he doesn't want anything else. An artist wants that something else, something. He has the need to do something else, to express something…
(c) Artists are competitive	I005	205-207	Okay afterwards with the exhibitions and the galleries, it was created, and it is created still, a movement, but again with many difficulties, many difficulties now due to the intense competition that exists now [hehh].
	I007	85	Look, there's the competitive element in the nature of the artist.
(d) Pride in personal	I005	52-53	Yes, yes, yes, of course, since then. I've done so far 15 of my own, solo exhibitions,

achievements			but with [3s] a lot of participation in a lot of group exhibitions.
		144-146	It contrasts with the subject of creativity, when you have a big family, and with the difficulties of having a family living abroad in regards to survival and these issues, like to work… [1s], but nevertheless, I find that [1s] if you look at the course of my work there are almost no gaps.
		149-150	But I feel some satisfaction that I managed under difficult conditions to have a long enough and big enough work.
	I008	7	This is our studio.
		95-98	And I was very daring I have to say. For example, when I came to Cyprus, I did I big proposal to the Department of Antiquities, and they opened the Ottoman Baths for me, which were closed since 1974. To do a site specific exhibition.
		159-161	Even though we should say that the 'Katharsis' exhibition, brought a lot of people to Paphos, who saw my work from that exhibition, so it was very good for me
		247-250	I was recently at this exhibition in Gloucester, at Gloucester cathedral, which was an important exhibition apparently, I didn't… think it was, because from the moment you participate as well, you demystify it.

Category: Inclination to art			**1B**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Inclination to art since young age	I002	36-37	Well, okay from when I was young I had the inclination to paint, like all kids now are involved with painting, but I liked it in particular, like music too.
	I003	64-66	I painted from the age of 6, I remember I always painted. But what I did then, do they have anything to do with what I do now? There's something there but [2s] the person becomes cultivated.
	I004	52-54	From a child I remember myself from 5 years old, moulding, there was a pottery

			store next to us and I stole clay and created, I went, I got some clay and created... I remember myself from 5 years old.
		55-59	From the third grade of high school and over, when I discovered that I didn't want to do anything else in my life apart from painting I finished high school with difficulty, by force- I wasn't interested in anything. Nothing interested me. Even though I was a good student. I did not want anything apart from painting.
	I005	8-10	Look, for me, art is something that started very early. So, my love for art was from a very young age and I never imagined doing anything else. That is, from the age of 5-6 years old I started to realize that I like to paint and all that
		14-15	I remember from a very young age I was very involved in painting
		23	So I never thought to do anything else, apart from painting.
	I006	14-15	so as a child I had an extremely rich relationship with creativity,
		24	Yes, yes, yes. From my very young years.
		32-34	But it was my first professional engagement with art, at the age of 13 to 14, yes. I did my first exhibition when I was 16 and a half.
	I007	8	From a very young age.
		11-12	Well, since I was young, my teacher told me that I was good, in primary school, and it seems that I believed him and I continued it.
		14-16	I always said this, since primary school I wanted to become a painter, because had this, [2s] because they told me I was good as well, and I started reading about art, and I had this idea, a captivation for artists, for painters.
		16-17	And I decided since primary school, I said it. In high school I was sure that I will study visual art. [3s]
	I008	51-52	To study fine art? [2s] I always knew it. There wasn't, I didn't have anything else- I

			didn't have any other thought.
		56-59	I had it for granted always, that I would study art. I was fanatic. I was constantly doing things, I painted, I thought about competitions, I was a good student as well, ok… but art was always stronger in anything I did.
		60-64	It wasn't something which I struggled with or wondered, and I feel lucky for that as well. Because I see other students as well, it's more indistinct, the way students chose what they're going to study, or wherever they get in after the exams. From this aspect, I feel fortunate enough to know, let's say. There weren't any other possibilities let's say, it was granted in my case.
	I009	15-16	I always painted, i liked it ans did various things, with plastesines and these kinds of things.
(b) Inclination to art due to creative environment	I002	47-48	Okay, my uncle helped me, Andreas Paraskevas is my uncle, he's a painter.
		50-51	That thing I had inside me for so many years and was afraid of it… and Andreas unblocked me I think
	I005	11-12	…usually there must be an environment that helps, encourage let's say, a child to do so.
		17-20	Um when she saw me drawing, e and saw that I did it well she took me by the hand every morning and brought to school, I sit on a desk and began drawing- before the normal age for school… then I think they started at 7, at 7 years old it was then, and so since then I had this passion and love for painting.
	I006	10-14	My father, was, and he still lives, a self-taught artist in painting and besides painting, he worked in many other creative forms, such as set design, during a time where there were no materials for sets and they were built using cements bags and powder colours, religious icons and other constructions etc, he worked on the Limassol carnival, he created floats for the

		28-30	serenators, masks, he created for the carnival, that's when I started as well and did, I painted on tree trunks and saucers, Cyprus' ancient monuments, Colossi, Apollo and I don't know, various similar sites, Kolossi's castle etc..
	I007	8-9 10-11	In my family I don't have anyone, grandfather, grandmother, relative, with an immediate [2s] relationship with art, with visual art. The only thing I can think of is my grandmother who made baskets. Right?
(c) Inclination to music	I002	36-37	Well, okay from when I was young I had the inclination to paint, like all kids now are involved with painting, but I liked it in particular, like music too.
	I006	133-137	the place also operated as a music hall. Because one of the great loves of my childhood was to hold my little guitar and play, and sing. Occasionally I wrote my own songs a little, and through this, I met with many poets who wanted to compose music to their poems… we had the Limassol Music Nights then, which we operated until the coup and the invasion.
	I008	60	Ok, I did music as well, I liked it in general, let's say. [2s]
(d) Good student: Choice to study art	I004	54-55 58	in high school, I was a good student. We paid for public high schools then and I had a scholarship and I was a good student, very good student. Nothing interested me. Even though I was a good student.
	I008	57-58	I was a good student as well, ok… but art was always stronger in anything I did. Ok, I did music as well, I liked it in general, let's say.
(e) Special attention by teacher	I005	17-20	Um when she saw me drawing, e and saw that I did it well she took me by the hand every morning and brought to school, I sit on a desk and began drawing- before the normal age for school… then I think they

			started at 7, at 7 years old it was then, and so since then I had this passion and love for painting.
		20-23	And then I continued when I went to primary school my drawings were always distinguished by the teacher, you know, like when they put them up, you know… and so I had a nice encouragement in this regard.
	I007	11-12	Well, since I was young, my teacher told me that I was good, in primary school, and it seems that I believed him and I continued it.
		14-16	I always said this, since primary school I wanted to become a painter, because had this, [2s] because they told me I was good as well, and I started reading about art, and I had this idea, a captivation for artists, for painters.
(f) Supported by parents since young age	I005	12-14	In my case, because we go quite some time back, when most parents believed that if a child is painting… they tell you, "stop doing scribbles and sit down to read", it was that period.
	I008	55-57	I feel fortunate that my parents supported me on this… I didn't have any problems with my family, to convince them let's say. I had it for granted always, that I would study art.

Category: Situation of art/artists in Cyprus			**1C**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Critical about situation of artists in Cyprus	I001	84	I, however, at this moment, am not an example of the Cypriot space only …because probably, if there had only been Cyprus, I would either not be here, or I would not be doing the work that I do.
		87-90	Of course this thing has its particularities from the viewpoint that we don't belong to an *a priori* structured space, where even the simplest elements, social insurance, pensions, insurances etc, apart from a personal initiative of coverage in the system.

		90-91	So the system itself, the Cypriot system… the Cypriot social and political system has not incorporated the artist in its protocol.
		93	In the stage now of 2011, the term artist does not exist in the social insurance program
		118-120	Yes, because things here, there is an effort, since there are several other deficiencies to cover these gaps, in fact, from associates friends that I have, either in Greece or in France that I know very well, they do not receive this equality.
	I002	212	It's in Cyprus that we're living, you can't do big things.
		393-394	In Cyprus the major issue is that people don't know about art because there has never been art in Cyprus.
		396	We didn't have art. Our art started in the 60s, 50s, 60s…
	I003	60	In Cyprus, these mistakes happen.
	I007	209-210	It is not easy at all. Within this framework, in the conditions of Cyprus, these do not happen.
		215-217	One which I solved in a good way I think is that I decided to work in education and be financially independent. This is a great challenge, and I was thinking about it a lot. But I had no choice, in Cyprus.
	I008	80-84	during that time Cyprus wasn't a member of the EU, so unavoidably I had to come back. I remember it was a rainy day and I was crying that I was leaving to come back. I didn't want to come back to Cyprus. I'm telling you, by no means. And it was a very difficult decision but I had to come back
		193-197	Well… after that I was disappointed by some things let's say which…. I don't know, perhaps I was a bit disappointed [3s] although there were a lot of people… ee. I felt that I was involved in warfare to be honest.
		138-139	so in Cyprus I believe the artist needs to do everything. To make the artworks, to work, in an irrelevant job, besides his work, to

		299-302	pursue competitions, to do the applications himself, so everything, all of this. It would be nice to have someone who is there… a gallery director let's say who would pursue the work, to promote it abroad- this structure doesn't exist in Cyprus. So, coming back and feel that… because it is difficult as well… not only our times, I won't become dramatic, but things are difficult for an artist in Cyprus, I think they have the need to belong somewhere, to feel that they can communicate with other people.
(b) Situation in Paphos	I003	178-180	Because the buying community in Paphos is small and the offer is larger, in terms of quality as well. In the meantime, a lot of very good artists live in Paphos, but all of them live selling artworks in other cities, not in Paphos particularly. This is a characteristic of Paphos.
	I007	63-65	Paphos is small, the public, eee… [2s] from all points of view the public is limited, the appreciation they have and the perception they have of the arts, of the visual arts is limited, but the commercial opportunities are also scarce.
	I008	138-141	When I came back from my studies I said "you first need to try your space and then reject it". My space was firstly Cyprus where I came to, and secondly Paphos, specifically. So the first events I organized were in Paphos.
		141-144	I organized the 'Within, Without' exhibition which was again a site-specific event where I involved artists from the neighborhood where my studio was then, in a process, an event, which was in inside spaces and outside spaces of the neighborhood.
		162-164	But the last exhibition I was preparing for now, I am preparing to exhibit it in Paphos as well. I was a bit in denial for a few years with Paphos, it's true, you observed correctly.

		181-183	we always consider Paphos a little poor… [heheh] but yes it's true. It is very difficult for someone from Nicosia to come to Paphos to see something… or whenever I went to Nicosia: "you came from Paphooooooooos?" until you said Paphos, you became exhausted. E, no, it isn't that far.
(c) Situation in Nicosia	I003	182-183	Nicosia perhaps was the most ee… consumerist in terms of art purchases, meaning they accept young artists, they accept new proposals, there is a more contemporary audience, more developed in Nicosia than in Limassol.
	I008	155-157	Nicosia, to be honest, has a lot more galleries, it has more people. It's not… if we consider that we have collectors, they will of course be in Nicosia, without wanting to offend anyone let's say.
		157-159	We live in a very small country, there aren't many potentials but the few potentials that there are, they are with people who live in Nicosia and move in Nicosia, so consciously this played a very important role.
		161-162	then I considered it to be better if I presented a something more complete, in Nicosia.
		175-176	I wanted a decent space, where more people would be involved in the art scene, etc. they are very logical reasons.

Category: Insecurities			**1D**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Insecurity about being an artist	I001	58-59	But if I had given such an answer, if I could answer to this, it would be like telling you that I am convinced that what I am doing is indeed art, I am not convinced of this at all.
	I003	143-144	And I found some corners, where no one could see me because I was embarrassed. When I started becoming a bit bolder, I went to more populated areas, Sundays, or

			I don't know…
(b) Insecurities regarding artist's artwork	I002	47	Because I always painted, in secret, somewhere secretly… I mean shyly shyly.
	I003	143-144	And I found some corners, where no one could see me because I was embarrassed. When I started becoming a bit bolder, I went to more populated areas, Sundays, or I don't know…
	I004	112	With the first exhibition I did, I was a little scared
	I009	12-13	Yes. Do you want to see anything of mine? Because I can only show you from the computer. I didn't organise any pictures or anything.
		67-69	I liked the person there because he was very folk, and I was too bored to deal with intellectual gallery directors, and I chose to go to Larnaca to have the exhibition
(c) Financial insecurities	I003	314-317	It means: to work. To wake up and say: this is a new month I have a lot of expenses, I have to sell paintings worth two-three thousand euros this month- and this is every month, every month. For thirty years. Like since 79' when I started to exhibit, since 78' I said… until now, how many years?
		319-320	Without having a secure salary it means that you need to work…. You need to produce works, and not only produce, to sell!
		328-330	When you become accomplished in a certain way of work, his own technique, ok? It becomes difficult for him, or he's afraid of doing something new. Because he says: now I'm doing well- the work I do now is accepted- if I do something new…
		334-335	This is a handicap let's say, which an artist.. when he reaches a certain age he might think about it and fear it, the something new.
		337-339	So, from the moment the artist needs to live from his work, there is always a danger, as every other professional has, if his work goes well, whether he has sales or if he

			doesn't.
	I004	232-234	Look, when I was single Niki, things were a little, they were a little looser. There weren't so many expenses. The problem is when you're married and you have a child. When you have children is the problem. That's when the big expenses start.
		235	Well, I worked more, I did more exhibitions, I spread further.
	I005	69-70	Look, it is not easy to always work on a voluntary basis, without having an income, it is very difficult.
		72-73	No, nothing! Get it? It is, it is, a very difficult thing, [3s] it requires sacrifices, of course, to make this thing happen,
	I008	129-132	I am 'permanent- on trial', it is two years until they give you a permanent position. So I can keep my studio somehow still. [3s]. But ok, why would I go into this situation? Because now, I am married, I have a family- I had a baby, you saw- my daughter will be a year old next month… So now I see things a little bit more practical.
(d) Financial insecurities of the professional artist ≠ Financial securities of the art teacher	I002	129-130	Even now, I'm not saying that I will live from my artwork, for God's sake
		131-132	But this is it, you work work work and then you're going to sell, you don't know when you're going to sell. It's not like you're working this month and I know I'm going to get some,
	I003	314-317	It means: to work. To wake up and say: this is a new month I have a lot of expenses, I have to sell paintings worth two-three thousand euros this month- and this is every month, every month. For thirty years. Like since 79' when I started to exhibit, since 78' I said… until now, how many years?
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			It becomes difficult for him, or he's afraid of doing something new. Because he says: now I'm doing well- the work I do now is accepted- if I do something new…
		334-335	This is a handicap let's say, which an artist.. when he reaches a certain age he might think about it and fear it, the something new.
		337-339	So, from the moment the artist needs to live from his work, there is always a danger, as every other professional has, if his work goes well, whether he has sales or if he doesn't.
	I006	193	My son who you saw before, he didn't find any students, he found one student, he just started.
		246-247	Because you cannot disconnect the economic status, from the creative one.
		247-248	The artists I know who did not have an economic success, stopped being artists, simple. They could not be artists.
		249-249	If you cannot develop an economic, not necessarily success but survival, you cannot continue being an artist. Let's not be, let's say, romantic
		250-253	there was Van Gogh. Yes, but Van Gogh had a brother who sustained him. If he did not have a brother to sustain him, and did paintings which he couldn't sell, and he didn't sell, Van Gogh would probably have to reconsider something else to do in order to sell. And he would change, or he would stop being an artist.
		262-267	This dilemma, however, that I did not encounter, e today, the majority of children who came to Cyprus from studies, being no longer possible to become appointed as teachers, all these kids like my child now, Reno, are obligated to realise that if you live as a professional artist, a creator, you will create exactly what you want but always bearing in mind that what you are doing must have an economic success in order to continue.

	I007	42-43	Yes, I went into education. It is one of the reasons I stayed in Cyprus. If I didn't go into education, to have a job and money, I would have left again. [2s]
		45-48	I never conceived myself as an art teacher, in schools. I wanted to be, when I was in school, I formed an opinion about the free artist, etc. But when I came and I was without money, one month, two months, three months, [1s] e I then began to think about the possibility, the ability to [3s] have this sort of job. And I did it as a necessity.
		55-56	I try to balance everything, it is difficult but, having the job in school to ensure financial security,
	I008	31-33	From time to time, they summoned me to school, many times I didn't go, to teach I mean, as an art teacher [1s]. Until this year when they appointed me as 'Permanent- by trial' so it was a big risk to not, let's say, follow this life, basically.
		33-36	The studio, I have two girls who used to be my students, kind of, ok, Natasia was a student of an artist friend of mine, and Panayiota was my student at the studio and now she is in charge let's say, so I come here for some hours until I decide what I'm going to do.
		38-40	Yes… this is a dilemma anyway. But in terms of a livelihood, to answer your question let's say, it is clearly… I was sustained by this studio, yes. And along side that, my own work, I always did, my own work.
		112-114	I am in the process of looking into what I'm going to do, something like that. Now. I felt that it has always been at the back of my head but nothing was certain because they hadn't invited me on a permanent basis.
(e) Financial security and creativity	I003	329-334	It becomes difficult for him, or he's afraid of doing something new. Because he says: now I'm doing well- the work I do now is accepted- if I do something new… first of all until I reach something new it means time

			for work, time for research. Well, will the audience digest the new thing I will do? Will it be liked? This is a handicap let's say, which an artist.. when he reaches a certain age he might think about it and fear it, the something new.
		343-346	If he has the strength to work during the day as a teacher and is able in the afternoon, have a clear mind and work, as many have proven capable of doing... eee.. he will be able to express himself more freely, because he will do the artworks he wants.
		347-350	To do the artworks that you want without being in danger of eee.. will you sell or won't you sell? You can, you can research and do the work that you want, the artworks that you want,
	I006	186-188	And I am not bound by something and say "since this was successful and since it has had a good response from the audience, stay in the security of this series of work, which you have refined and it has become easier to do".
		258-260	Because I had a profession as a teacher, which secured me in this aspect, for which I told you, the economic one, so whatever I did was clearly what I wanted to do. I was never concerned with the financial obligation against myself, right?
		260-262	I had no financial issues, so I did not have to think, do people buy my work or do they not buy it, and so I always, and today, create exactly what I want
	I007	254-255	Those who chose to stay outside and function as- 'free' in quotations, free artists, their work does not necessarily mean that [2s] it is as free.
		255-257	That is, e it does not mean that they won't do compromises in their work, compromises, to sell. Because they live off the purchases of their work.
		257-259	From the moment you have a steady financial, a steady income, it means that

			since you will live only from your art [2s] you can also think that you can do things which are more commercial, and can be bought.
	I008	43-46 46-48 246-247 331-333	because precisely I have a job which provides me with some income, my work is a bit far from, let's say, from [1s] some of the work might be more commercialized, but surely it is not commercial, I don't consider my work to be commercial. Meaning I will not do something which does not express me because it will sell quicker, let's say. I think it's also a way not to have it at the back of your head. A! I will sell with this, surely. No. But when you are financially secured, and you were 100% into what you are doing, it means that you will progress more importantly in your career as an artist. The most important thing is, it is the financial, I need to have financial security to be able to do something. It is also a matter of survival, it is also a matter of not wanting to depend on anyone, to be independent, and it is a matter of being responsible- independent
(f) Uncertainty after studies	I007	23-25	You know, after I graduated from England and came to Cyprus and was unemployed, I had no money, I worked, I did my painting but it wasn't enough, to paint and not have money in your pocket is a problem.
	I008	18	Ok. When I returned from my studies, ok, what was I going to do?

Category: Cultural Services and the Artists			**1E**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Financial assistance of artists from Cultural Services	I001	113 122	Yes they help a lot. More than in any other country. So in our own place, because there is, it is known that the system does not include the artist, they try to cover the gap
	I002	179-180	The cultural services bought from me… which isn't very common for a new artist.

		403-405	Usually they buy works from the second, and now they say the third solo exhibition. Or they can see that this sells. And it does sell. And the Cultural Services are interested in this and would give a, say it… money… give you a grant to do this, they like it let's say.
	I008	200-204 204-208	Look, if it is a group initiative, or an individual one, with [3s] with which it agrees [4s] where they can recognize that what you will present will benefit culture in Cyprus or will bring culture, yes they will help you. But, if I have my solo exhibition set up, and request a grant to organize a solo exhibition in London, I don't believe they would support you as easily to support you with a grant, it needs to fall under their regulations and their targets, which is logical of course. But you need to pursue it, you need to convince them that yes, you're good and what you're about to present is actually interesting enough, and that it will give back, there will be a good feedback.
(b) Positive about Cultural Services	I001	113 122	Yes they help a lot. More than in any other country. So in our own place, because there is, it is known that the system does not include the artist, they try to cover the gap
	I005	124-126	For the purchase of artworks by Cypriot artists, from the cultural services, which is something very important, something which began several years ago
	I009	118-120	Her mum knew me, she came to my exhibitions, she followed my work. The ministry had bought work of mine, which they buy from everyone, so [1s] they knew, she knew who I am.
(c) Critical about Cultural Services	I003	371-372 374-376	If you wait for the Cultural Services to send you though you will find it very difficult. …because they have their own methods of selecting artists and I have the impression that their selections are made based on what in their opinions [2s] goes around in

			the international artworld. This is how they see things. It has to be overturned
		414-415	And I submitted an application for it. In the end I think they sent 30 artists, or 50, half of which don't live in Cyprus, one third of which are living in Cyprus but they are not of Cypriot origin. I don't think this is right.
	I004	225 225-227	I hear that they help, I hear… Once or twice that I went abroad, that I happened to go through, let's say, they will help you with what? They might talk to Cyprus Airways to transport your artwork. Or through the embassy, I don't know. But help, actual help I never had any.
	I005	285-287	These are difficult situations. And the difficult thing is that there is no specific institutional, legal framework concerning these issues, and makes the situation even more difficult.
	I009	353-354 357 364-365 380-382	And basically, I don't know whether you're going to ask me something else, but you may have this in mind to ask what the state does for artists… It's tragic let's say. What can I tell you? And a lot of things that happen, and many funds being given, never reach everyone's ears, they reach the ears of those who are closer to hear. I feel that if there was a little help from the state as far as a small allowance is concerned, because it's a job where you can't, you can't make money easily, you know this as well I assume.
(d) Corruption of the system	I003	378-381 382-387	When you see, there are art historians, gallery directors who are also art historians who are on the inside and choose eee artists who exhibit at the gallery, go to the exhibitions abroad as well, officially as a Cypriot delegation Because this issue really exists. There are galleries which have connections, the artists who will exhibit there will exhibit at a biennale, or they exhibited at the biennale and will exhibit at the gallery. It's an

			alliance. Mother- daughter, the mother in the ministry- the daughter is the gallery director. Or the gallery director, the husband is officer at the state in the department for income taxes, for example, so when someone foes to buy a piece from the gallery eee… idirectly it is like they are bribing the tax legislator.
	I005	109-113	we ended up deciding to change the entire process, the way the competitions worked, as a result, we have a new law whereby ever public building carries the obligation, that the player organisation responsible to proceed with a competition , a public tender for the enrichment of the building with different committees each time
		285-287	These are difficult situations. And the difficult thing is that there is no specific institutional, legal framework concerning these issues, and makes the situation even more difficult.
	I009	91-95	They chose me for the Commonwealth, it was a selection- they called me from the Ministry and asked me "We're sending someone, would you like to go?", and I told them "yes, I want to" and I went- for the Commonwealth one. For Berlin it was like this again, they were looking for someone from Cyprus to go on a residency, and they suggested me.
		101-104	there are a lot of artists who do, not only me, but my sister happened to work [2s], my sister is a diplomat and she gave invitations to coworkers at the Ministry [2s] so it reached Nikita's hands… Nikita, because she worked with her, she came to see the exhibition and [2s] she liked my work [2s] from there.
		104-107	Because I told you, a lot of them do, but she doesn't go to everyone, their exhibitions, to see their work from there, I was just lucky, there they were other things at play, [2s] someone gave her an invitation, because she felt obligation to go, because of her

			work she came to the exhibition to see and she liked it.
		367-373	But you cannot do it simultaneously- to want to create and have to think how to get closer, how to hear what's going on, not to find someone from the inside and this bullshit, no, just so that I know, to be able to hear what is happening, to apply the same way someone else applies, fairly, that's what I mean [2s]. Perhaps we need a little more transparency in some things, for things to become known easier and come to the attention of people who are further away from things.

Category: Speaking through art			**1F**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Focus on art rather than self	I001	10-11	I think through the study of the actual work of my own, whatever queries you have on the actual work…
		35-36	So If you, through the study of my work can give an answer to this, perhaps it would be interesting.
		137-138	You need to set up questions on the actual work…
	I002	548-551	And I was never the kind of person who would show off in front of something, that's why you put your work. Like I'd like to become an actor, because I would never be able to stand in front of people, as myself. And maybe that's why I chose to do this… now realizing why I became a painter.
		551-552	To have something else in front of me, to represent me, my artwork in front of me.
		557-558	…but I'm not the kind of person who will show off…
	I003	49	I like talking, about art. Even though normally artists shouldn't talk.
		51	Well, because he expresses himself with his work. But, we def [-fend], ee, we talk in order to defend art some times.
		191-192	I know that I always have something more to say, that I have more work to do, as long

		354-358	as I am strong. I know teachers though, who take advantage of every second of their lives, as long as they have something to say. Because a painter isn't someone who just paints to do something for the fun of it. he paints because he wants to say something new, he wants to say something. If he didn't want to say anything, he won't paint.
	I004	9 12	My art speaks… Well, I deal with …oooooch …
	I008	309-310 311-312 318-319	So for me, an artist is constantly in motion, constantly in, in… on edge, because he always wants to say something, to express something let's say… [3s] it is he who tries to communicate through the visual. An artist wants that something else, something. He has the need to do something else, to express something…

Category: Social Insurance			**1G**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Confusion about Social Insurance Program	I001	87-90 94-96 96 99	Of course this thing has its particularities from the viewpoint that we don't belong to an *a priori* structured space, where even the simplest elements, social insurance, pensions, insurances etc, apart from a personal initiative of coverage in the system. So we come through parallel avenues, but you can see this very well in two services, which are the social insurance program and VAT. You will see that there is no artist. Thus by ourselves if we want to be legitimate, we set up some companies… Otherwise things are fairly complicated.
	I002	337-339	You think I know? Look, because I work at the night school I pay social insurance. They pay it for me. I get my salary from the ministry of culture from the night school, so they take a part of that for social

			insurance.
		341-344	[RE: social insurance for artworks sold] They don't ask me for that I don't know what goes on with that… and I don't think there's any painter who deals with this thing. Unless its someone who… ee has… first of all I don't know but I imagine that someone who has a studio and produces work and sells it always through the studio with orders, one thing or the other… logically they should pay…
	I007	169-170	No, there isn't. [Low voice] I did not concern myself much with it. There should be a regulation for this but I do not know what the regulation says
	I009	342-343	You're asking about the system? I don't know. [2s] I sold my work, I got money [2s] but I didn't need to [2s] declare something in terms of social security or I don't know.
		345-349	Yes, now how that may affect someone who creates and sells I don't know. I didn't go into that process. Okay, I had some exhibitions, I got some money but don't imagine that I made millions let's say. I got a small amount and put it in the bank. Now who knows where and how I found it let's say. I don't know about this issue to know how it's being done
(b) Understanding of Social Insurance Program	I003	251-253	… If you are a company, it means that the years you didn't sell, you had loss of money, you were… you worked at a loss. This is the reason- you can transfer this loss to the next year.
		253-254	my dad is a lawyer. He told me "create a company for your work, it's better".
		257	So when you create a company- you get a salary.
		263	So, in some way the income and expenses is organized and something else- I pay VAT.
	I005	388-397	E certainly, artists are in a very unfavourable situation in regards to social insurance program because for most of

			them, in the years spent working, they did not have any contributions because they did not have enough sales, they didn't have, that is, you have an exhibition every three years, okay- perhaps you sold some work, you might not sell work. E, that year you, perhaps you didn't have an exhibition the previous years and thus had no income, you have an exhibition where you might sell and it's considered the income for the entire year but actually it is the income for three years, which should be divided in the three years so that it appears that your income wasn't enough… somewhere there is a, there are difficulties, there are some things which should have been cleared up so that… the situation of artists is facilitated.

Category: Definition of the artist			**1H**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Authority in definition of the artist	I001	59-60	It is the history of art that will judge this, and a theorist…
		65-66	Personally no, it is not I that considers myself an artist, the space, the social space that accepts me, accepts me as an artist.
		66	I by myself would not be able to determine my work as such.
		67-71	My work is determined as such because I make a living from my work, because some people buy my art, because some people host my exhibitions, because some go through the trouble of paying to have the work or to transport exhibitions… If none of these things occurred, I don't know how art history could otherwise classified me in the field
	I002	473-476	…naturally others need to judge you as well. It's not possible for someone who hasn't studied, or someone who has studied, but does stupid things let's say, throws paints on a canvas, I don't mean Pollock… who thinks that he paints but no

			one won't accept him, in general, and he believes he's an artist. Is he really an artist?
	I003	61-62	"I have a relative of mine who draws, he was good in high school, he did nice artworks". "Did he study?"
		119-121	Look, there is the Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts, in Cyprus. Ok? E.KA.TE.. Well, in its statute E.KA.TE. says that one can become a member if they have completed at least three years of studies in the Arts. Fine Arts.
(b) Difficulty to define the artist	I001	45	Yes, but I do not know if a musician can say what the definition of music is.
		46	Especially in this era where it doesn't really matter whether it is visual art or something else.
		47	It is a time when things are jumbled so much between them that, what does visual mean…
		48	So you think that these questions are not answered by theorems of art?
		52-53	Art theorists, who are not artists, have given various definitions for these things, but I am not an art theorist, I am an artist.
		62-63	If these things are art or not art, if it is visual art or if it is something else, it does not concern me at all.
		70	I don't know how art history could otherwise classified me in the field.
	I002	471-472	It's a little bit difficult to say who the artist is. It's a good question, very good question… but it's a little bit difficult. I don't want to say absolute things.
	I005	431	It is difficult… who is named an artist, certainly it is difficult.
	I007	270	[5s] But it is difficult to, to define the visual artist.
		273-274	There are several aspects of this definition let's say. [2s] It depends on what criteria you use.
		280-282	As long as what you do, either painting, or performance art, or a happening, or

			installation, whatever you do, they need to have certain characteristics. Do not ask me what characteristics, it is difficult
		290-291	Yes, yes. It's difficult. I told you all this very generally because I find it difficult to answer it myself. But this level is theoretical. And it is not my problem;
		298-301	Empirically, but when I sit down to write them down, to analyze them, I might reach to a formula, but this doesn't concern me. It's difficult. From the moment there is a subjective element, where there is the feeling and [2s] let's say those deeper human senses that create taste, these things, we can't, they are difficult.
	I009	390	Who is the artist? I do not consider myself an artist let's say.
(c) What the artist is not	I001	33-34	These questions are subjects of analysis that a biographer would do but I am not a biographer. I am an artist
		52-53	Art theorists, who are not artists, have given various definitions for these things, but I am not an art theorist, I am an artist.
	I008	310-311	surely it is not a person who does exhibitions and sells at extremely high prices let's say, necessarily
		321-322	It isn't something I see, I copy and that's it. No. That might be a decorator, it could be [2s] someone who imitates something else.
		323	An artist isn't someone who happened to study it but never did anything.
(d) Definition by art school education	I002	473-476	…naturally others need to judge you as well. It's not possible for someone who hasn't studied, or someone who has studied, but does stupid things let's say, throws paints on a canvas, I don't mean Pollock… who thinks that he paints but no one won't accept..
	I005	222-223	But it doesn't mean that someone else, who is doing something different and does not have the background…
		226-	Even a, like, [2s] an amateur [3s] a self-

		229	taught artist, which means that… I think that the right to create not only justified by the degree. Everyone is entitled, since the age of three, four years old they begin to create, they have the right to create until the end of his life.
(e) Definition by quality of artist's work	I002	473-476	It's not possible for someone who hasn't studied, or someone who has studied, but does stupid things let's say, throws paints on a canvas, I don't mean Pollock… who thinks that he paints
	I005	225-226 229-231	It is dependent on the quality of the work itself which has been produced, in order to justify it and say yes I am an artist. So based on the work each person produces, I think they are given the right to be considered an artist or just okay, as a hobby.
	I007	270-273 274-278 292-294 296-297	[1s] It not only has to do with, with the quantity, so how much they work, but it relates to the quantity, how much they work, and with the quality, what he does, how he does it, and how he experiences this. [3s] The criterion of how modern, how radical you are, not radical, how modern- what we call the avant-garde. I'm saying that, [1s] that these are all related but it is not what make the visual artist, a proper visual artist. I think an artist has to respect tradition, constantly study it, draw elements from tradition and give his own back, the new. Certainly they must follow the new currents in art. But when I go to galleries, and now that I know the work of each artist, for my personal, you know, choices and categorisations, I know who… I have an opinion about who is good, who is you know… who I like, who I do not like. The quality is what moves me. Eee. Which I suspect that that work that gathers that critical thinking and creativity and talent of that artist…

	I009	397-398	I mean, show me what you do and I'll tell you. I mean that's how I understand it, me.
(f) Artist is Skillful/ Technician	I003	106 108-111	A good technician. A good technician they told me this again, someone else. He tells me, "e and what is an artist? An artist is a good technician". Are we all artists though? Normally we should have known… artists should know all the other arts. Work with wood, metal… the artist should be as much as possible…
	I004	87-90	But I did a lot of things, I was restless, so I did not stay with painting. I did tapestries, I did pottery, I did wood carving, I did various courses. I followed everything that interested me, I was in. These helped me later on though, whatever you learn.
(g) Definition by membership to artist's association	I003	119-121	Look, there is the Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts, in Cyprus. Ok? E.KA.TE.. Well, in its statute E.KA.TE. says that one can become a member if they have completed at least three years of studies in the Arts. Fine Arts.
	I005	435-439	This bothered us because we wanted to clarify that it should be artists, but this was not accepted, artists from abroad, but we put citizens from the European Union. They didn't want us to clarify. In the end we put citizens from European countries from similar organized groups, such as E.KA.TE.. Get it? So it is difficult as you for them to accept it in general.
(h) Defining art in terms of other art forms	I003	91-93 296-301	It's like film, where so many films have been made, to call something original or say the story in a different way, needs a lot of art. As well as… when a new film is being produced, a company is created so that the film is produced. So that they know what goes on with the finances. The film-makers gather together for that film and then each goes to wherever they came from, so someone, who is a producer, puts in the money, the company is created for the

			specific film. For the most part, in Europe especially, every production is a company.
	I005	223-225	let's take the authors, most of them work in some occupation but they might publish valuable books let's say, and then they are considered artists, writers. It is the same way I think with all art forms.
	I006	276-279	there's something inside me that is calling me, that screams for me, a calling, an internal calling, much like an athlete who potential has a calling, his physical status calls him to do some things. And he follow it and we say we have a great athlete. Not everyone can do this of course, just by saying, I want to be an athlete. There is an internal calling.
(i) Artist has something to say	I003	354-358	I know teachers though, who take advantage of every second of their lives, as long as they have something to say. Because a painter isn't someone who just paints to do something for the fun of it. he paints because he wants to say something new, he wants to say something. If he didn't want to say anything, he won't paint.
	I008	309-310 311-312 318-319	So for me, an artist is constantly in motion, constantly in, in... on edge, because he always wants to say something, to express something let's say... [3s] it is he who tries to communicate through the visual. An artist wants that something else, something. He has the need to do something else, to express something...
(j) Definition by professional status	I005	419-422	Well, look, that is, it depends very much on the work each one produces to be considered, okay, the fact that some artists work diachronically, meaning professionally in a specific field of art, okay, it gives him the title of a professional artist.
	I006	231-235	To talk about the artist whose life is art, it is his job... the person who has art as his job, his life, his profession, is no different,

			in my opinion always, and should not differ in anything from any other employee, whether he works somewhere, or whether he is self employed, which has an enterprise.

Category: Validation			**1I**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Professional validation	I001	33-35	These questions are subjects of analysis that a biographer would do but I am not a biographer, I am an artist.
		52-53	Art theorists, who are not artists, have given various definitions for these things, but I am not an art theorist, I am an artist.
		103-104	…because I'm from a generation of artist, where previously, before our accession to the European Union we didn't even have the right…
		109-110	As a Cypriot artist one has the discretion if you want to be equal to a European artist, much easier.
	I003	162-163	When I came back in 1987, the first thing I did was to go buy oil paints, to get loads of things and start working with oil paints.

Category: Artist's artworks			**1J**
Properties	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
(a) Subject of work: Things that concern the artist	I001	61	I construct things, think and construct things, around issues that concern me.
	I003	76-78	we are now, we live, and some things may bother us and we want to show them, and there is also a past which might be harsh but we want to show it, or have an element of, of charm in the sense that…
		82-84	Or kids gathered in the neighborhood and played… this sense of a team, the neighborhood, these elements are missing now, I might want to express them in my work.
		212-213	…these factors sensitize me and I wanted

			to do a series of collage
(b) Definition of artworks	I002	479 495-497	Art, art you do it first for yourself yes, and then for the rest of them So yeh,… art I think is to work faithfully inside you and be honest with what you're doing, not doing it for others, to impress them.
	I003	8-9 29-32	…the work of art must be understandable and e, a, cause pleasant emotions where one artist might get a, he does a small sketch, the A4 little sketch he gets it and sticks it on a canvas, right? On the canvas he sticks a frame, he puts the frame, he does a construction and puts it on, and you go and see a piece… the real art work is the small sketch
(c) Artist likes his/her own artworks	I002	258-259 294-295	And you do another one where you say that this one doesn't really fit either but I'm going to do it because i like it And I produced 10 very beautiful ones with which I was satisfied with and they accepted them.
	I003	217-219 221-223	but what I liked about advertising was the… the graphics, the words, the letters, which I did in my studies as well. What I liked very much was to do calligraphic letters, fonts, with my hand… well, I did logos… I liked logos very much as well. For me the social meaning of a work of art is a primary element… so when you are narrating a story… I'm a storyteller in my paintings, and I'm… and I like it.
	I005	309-310 316	Look, certainly as an artist through the exhibitions I did, okay, I found that I had a response let's say, from the public Anyhow, eeeh [1s] I find that I had a response from the audience.
	I006	161	A solo exhibition, I only did 2-3 times and only recently did I do a very good solo exhibition…
	I008	98-100	It was a very good exhibition, and the pieces I happened to exhibit during that time. I had participated in the Biennale of Alexandria, in another one in Beijing, in big

			competitions, every piece from that work.
	I002	170 179 205-207	Yes, and she saw my work… She became very interested in my work… So people came and they seemed to like my exhibition After Akamantis some people came and saw my work, I learned that Zambelas, who is a collector let's say, the previous mayor of Nicosia saw my work and he liked it… he didn't buy but you start to move forward.
(d) Audience likes artist's artworks	I003	24-25 332-333	Oh how nice here is the house, the car, the man here", or I don't know, and you see that what you are doing is liked, you do not want the art historian or art critic to tell you. Well, will the audience digest the new thing I will do? Will it be liked?
	I005	309-310 316	Look, certainly as an artist through the exhibitions I did, okay, I found that I had a response let's say, from the public Anyhow, eeeh [1s] I find that I had a response from the audience.
	I002	71-72 456 499-500	That's where you get, you acquire quality, in searching. When your hand learns, your eye observes… which is very good for you. This yes, this might lower your quality, a bad piece. … but then it starts and something happens from the inside, better quality, deeper. And I think that's when the work starts to be liked, and are brought outwards.
(e) Quality of artworks	I005	225-226 312-314 314-316	It is dependent on the quality of the work itself which has been produced, in order to justify it and say yes I am an artist. Although this does not always mean that it is a measure, comparable measure let's say of the quality of work because… eee… if we say that someone who sells also makes great work, it doesn't work like that- sales is not always a comparable measure. It may be just commercial
	I002	256	But you know, for my solo, I want to focus on one concept. Present a complete work

(f) One theme for all artworks in exhibition	I006	169-170 171-172 172-173 175-176 176-179 181-182	I wanted to… to complete a series of 15 to 20 artworks which I could exhibit So then from every series, let's call it that, of work which I produced I ended up with 3-4-5 artworks, 6, which were not enough to exhibit as a chapter in a solo exhibition. And I went onto a new chapter, with a new disposition, but again with a small number of artworks. if you don't do a volume of work, you can't exhibit the 5 artworks you did… Right? On the other hand, you can't have an exhibition and show 5 artworks from one approach and then 3 artworks from a different approach, which was the way I was evolving. At some point this thing, in the catalogue I will give you later, the exhibition I had done last year included work from the previous six years, and includes 3-4 chapters and I exhibited them.
	I002	319	No, no, no I don't do orders. I can't go into that process.
(g) Artworks created on commission	I008	339-342	On the other hand, because I am too selfish to create an artwork just because someone ordered it. I won't do this, ever. If someone tells me to work under this theme, I will do something of my own, but if they ask me to do a realistic portrait, I won't sit and do it because it isn't something I consider a challenge to do.
	I002	278-282	I worked for the solo exhibition let's say. A piece came out and I said, oh this one I want to submit, it goes a little bit with this one which I had from my solo exhibit which I've exhibited only in my solo exhibit, this goes as well… I will do another two pieces… and I'll see if they fit. In the end they fitted.
(h) Adapting artworks according to artist's	I003	133-135	But I came to Cyprus and I had to do advertising. Otherwise I would not be able to do my animation. But it doesn't mean oh my, oh my I'm going to do animation.

situation			That's why I went on to painting slowly slowly.
		145-146	When I came to Cyprus and I didn't have anything to do with animation, I said what am I going to do now? I need to do something… and I started drawing in Limassol.
		147-149	But I took on the idea very warmly and did my first exhibition, which was from artworks from Limassol, drawings, and colour with aquarelle.
	I008	25-26	Because [1s] the students [1s] I don't know how they do it, they're everywhere, so my work turned into something more clean lately.
		27-29	If there is something I need space for, although I also have space here to work, it's a storage space now… [3s] I don't know, perhaps I leaned to think a little bit differently so that I wouldn't [2s] take up too much space

Appendix 8: Generating Core Categories

Core categories emerged through the cyclical process of collecting data, coding incidents and codes and then comparing those incidents, codes and concepts in the data with the properties and categories from which they originated. These core categories have considerable similarities to the written chapters.

A more detailed example of how a Core Category [Definitions] was generated can be seen further below.

Artist Association
Perception of associations
Membership to E.KA.TE.
Expectations from E.KA.TE.
Membership to Ei.Ka.

Artist Identity
Perception of self
Early years
Creative environment
Talent
Distinction
Working environment
Status
Physical isolation
Domesticated studio space □ Visual artistic production □ Independence □ Experimentation □ Passion

Cyprus
Artists' Relationship to Cyprus and Other Countries
Country comparison
Government support
Regulatory system
Social security systems
Taxation systems
Illicit work
Demand for the visual arts □ Public appreciation of art □ Collecting of artworks
Quality of life

Definitions
Definitions of art
Definition of the artist
Definition by quality of work
Definition by authority
Definition by art school education

Employment and Income
Financial circumstances
Employment in art education
Preferred working patterns
Artists' perception of income

Galleries
Visual Artist's Perception of Galleries
Positive Experiences of Galleries
Comparison of galleries
Gallery representation
Gallery commission and 'rent'
Gallery Commission
Gallery rent
Promotion by Gallery
Position of Visual Artists

Mobility
Mobile visual artists
Issues with mobility
Residencies
Networking □ Connections □ Maintaining connections □ Opportunities

Detailed Example of Core Category

Core Category: Definitions			
Categories	**[#]**	**Lines**	**Incidents**
1H (b) Difficulty to define the artist	I001	45	Yes, but I do not know if a musician can say what the definition of music is.
		46	Especially in this era where it doesn't really matter whether it is visual art or something else.
		47	It is a time when things are jumbled so much between them that, what does visual mean…
		48	So you think that these questions are not answered by theorems of art?
		52-53	Art theorists, who are not artists, have given various definitions for these things, but I am not an art theorist, I am an artist.
		62-63	If these things are art or not art, if it is visual art or if it is something else, it does not concern me at all.
		70	I don't know how art history could otherwise classified me in the field.
	I002	471-472	It's a little bit difficult to say who the artist is. It's a good question, very good question… but it's a little bit difficult. I don't want to say absolute things.
	I005	431	It is difficult… who is named an artist, certainly it is difficult.
	I007	270	[5s] But it is difficult to, to define the visual artist.
		273-274	There are several aspects of this definition let's say. [2s] It depends on what criteria you use.
		280-282	As long as what you do, either painting, or performance art, or a happening, or installation, whatever you do, they need to have certain characteristics. Do not ask me what characteristics, it is difficult
		290-291	Yes, yes. It's difficult. I told you all this very generally because I find it difficult to answer it myself. But this level is theoretical. And it is not my problem;
		298-301	Empirically, but when I sit down to write them down, to analyze them, I might reach to a formula, but this doesn't concern me. It's difficult. From the moment there is a subjective element, where there is the feeling and [2s] let's say those deeper human senses that create

			taste, these things, we can't, they are difficult.
	I009	390	Who is the artist? I do not consider myself an artist let's say.
2G (a) Difficulty defining the artist	I010	291-293	I know a number of things to tell you but I do not know what you want to hear. I have never heard such a question but I'll tell you what I think. Who is the artist?
	I014	247-250	Basically it's the fact that it's so vague to be an artist today- like what are you doing? Generally the word artist today is probably one of those words which you can widely define let's say, it's so abstract. I don't know. [3s] Anyone can translate it with a different way.
3F (a) Difficulty defining artist	I019	299-301	2s] You see, it's difficult for us to answer as well, I mean to give a precise term. Because you need to give a definition which will be valid from a legal aspect and from a [2s] it needs some study to define it
	I020	228-229	It is difficult because now there is a lot of intersection and interdisciplinary approach. there isn't a category which # either you are an artist or you're not-
	I021	129-130 134-135	[4s] I think it's obvious, who is and who isn't. As long as you have the capacity to tell the difference. 2s] I don't know how the cultural services do it. The situation is a bit like a mini market. I can imagine them sitting there and trying to distinguish works of them. [3s]
	I022	198 202 214-215	I don't think there is a need for that. Yes, no. You might not need to answer that question That's why I am a little against definitions, you know, from the moment you have definitions, this leads to very specific things
1H (a) Authority in definition of the artist	I001	59-60 65-66 66 67-71	It is the history of art that will judge this, and a theorist… Personally no, it is not I that considers myself an artist, the space, the social space that accepts me, accepts me as an artist. I by myself would not be able to determine my work as such. My work is determined as such because I make a living from my work, because

			some people buy my art, because some people host my exhibitions, because some go through the trouble of paying to have the work or to transport exhibitions… If none of these things occurred, I don't know how art history could otherwise classified me in the field
	I002	473-476	…naturally others need to judge you as well. It's not possible for someone who hasn't studied, or someone who has studied, but does stupid things let's say, throws paints on a canvas, I don't mean Pollock… who thinks that he paints but no one won't accept him, in general, and he believes he's an artist. Is he really an artist?
	I003	61-62 119-121	"I have a relative of mine who draws, he was good in high school, he did nice artworks". "Did he study?" Look, there is the Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts, in Cyprus. Ok? E.KA.TE.. Well, in its statute E.KA.TE. says that one can become a member if they have completed at least three years of studies in the Arts. Fine Arts.
2G (g) By authority	I018	53-54 133-135 137-139	Usually, galleries, as we said, are supported by the various collectors but also by various art historians, who determine the development of art. Of course we shouldn't reach the point where they wake up one day and say "oh I am an artist too" and we all decide we are artists- no. There should be some criteria which some would fulfill. Very simple- you finished a fine art school, you had some solo exhibitions, regardless of whether you sold work or not, you wrote some articles. I mean, if I am an artist who graduated from an art school and I'm sitting at home calling myself an artist or whatever
3F (b) Definition by authority	I019	292-294	It seems that that it is a difficult chapter. Because all the organisations which tried to define the term artist, they didn't clarify it because they have [2s] they get stuck on issues of freedom of each person to create.
	I024	127-128	And I'm telling you, and this is why the galleries are responsible for promoting this idea let's say. Why? They have their own reasons but it is true.

1H (i) Artist has something to say	I003	354-358	I know teachers though, who take advantage of every second of their lives, as long as they have something to say. Because a painter isn't someone who just paints to do something for the fun of it. he paints because he wants to say something new, he wants to say something. If he didn't want to say anything, he won't paint.
	I008	309-310 311-312 318-319	So for me, an artist is constantly in motion, constantly in, in… on edge, because he always wants to say something, to express something let's say… [3s] it is he who tries to communicate through the visual. An artist wants that something else, something. He has the need to do something else, to express something…
1F (a) Focus on art rather than self	I001	10-11 35-36 137-138	I think through the study of the actual work of my own, whatever queries you have on the actual work… So If you, through the study of my work can give an answer to this, perhaps it would be interesting. You need to set up questions on the actual work…
	I002	548-551 551-552 557-558	And I was never the kind of person who would show off in front of something, that's why you put your work. Like I'd like to become an actor, because I would never be able to stand in front of people, as myself. And maybe that's why I chose to do this… now realizing why I became a painter. To have something else in front of me, to represent me, my artwork in front of me. …but I'm not the kind of person who will show off…
	I003	49 51 191-192 354-358	I like talking, about art. Even though normally artists shouldn't talk. Well, because he expresses himself with his work. But, we def [-fend], ee, we talk in order to defend art some times. I know that I always have something more to say, that I have more work to do, as long as I am strong. I know teachers though, who take advantage of every second of their lives, as long as they have something to say. Because a painter isn't someone who just

			paints to do something for the fun of it. he paints because he wants to say something new, he wants to say something. If he didn't want to say anything, he won't paint.
	I004	9 12	My art speaks… Well, I deal with …oooooch …
	I008	309-310 311-312 318-319	So for me, an artist is constantly in motion, constantly in, in… on edge, because he always wants to say something, to express something let's say… [3s] it is he who tries to communicate through the visual. An artist wants that something else, something. He has the need to do something else, to express something…
3F (c) Speaking through art	I020	222-225 226-227	Basically, the visual artist is an artist who works with image, with the visual reality, in the sense that # their main means is visual. For me I can say that it is mainly visual, in the sense that it might be video or installation if it isn't painting which is the pure- or even performance I mean the stimulation comes from the visual expression anyway, with the sight.
	I020	187-189 199-205	…an artist always creates for his public. There aren't any artists who create art which no one sees and stores it in their basement. So you basically need to have a dialogue On the other hand abroad, because they don't even know what the 8 means or what these ovens are [2s] the piece might not have spoken to them, it might not have interested them, they might not have that dialogue so ok, this is also a challenge which I face and I consider to be something which [2s] I need to work at, I mean I need to develop my themes in such a way that they would speak about something specific but at the same time comprehendible on a more international level, if that is possible.
	I023	90 180-181	…art is to express yourself and to give something back to the world For me it's like [2s], if you are a person who needs to express something, it doesn't have to be Cyprus, it can be anywhere
	I025	25	I mean, how art, in some way, expresses the trauma of war.

1H (e) Definition by quality of artist's work	I002	473-476	It's not possible for someone who hasn't studied, or someone who has studied, but does stupid things let's say, throws paints on a canvas, I don't mean Pollock… who thinks that he paints
	I005	225-226 229-231	It is dependent on the quality of the work itself which has been produced, in order to justify it and say yes I am an artist. So based on the work each person produces, I think they are given the right to be considered an artist or just okay, as a hobby.
	I007	270-273 274-278

	I004	87-90	But I did a lot of things, I was restless, so I did not stay with painting. I did tapestries, I did pottery, I did wood carving, I did various courses. I followed everything that interested me, I was in. These helped me later on though, whatever you learn.
(b) Defined through work	I010	292-295	If I am an artist, then I [3s] I am as such through the works that I did. [2s] That is, my identity as a visual artist is formed from my etchings, through which I express myself, and showed, that yes, I010 is this
	I011	425-428	Well [4s] there are visual artists who are artists and visual artists who are not artists, just like there are doctors who are artists and doctors who aren't artists, in the same way there are business men artists, and builders artists and others who aren't artists.
		428-431	I think that [3s] someone who is focused on what he is doing and has passion, and [5s] does their experimentations, their [4s] the research, is passionate with what they are doing, it looks like they are artists.
		435-438	I think the artist is the one who goes deeper, who can recant themselves at any moment, who can [3s] start from zero, while having the past as stimuli, in the good sense [heheh]. I think this is the artist for me, without meaning that I gave any kind of definition now
		438	if someone gives himself to his work, you know
	I014	239-242	Basically a visual artist is someone who doesn't use one specific medium to produce what he wants at that specific period of time, he uses various mediums together to produce something? This is more for me- it isn't a painter or- they put various mediums together to make a piece.
	I015	38-39	I mean I think there is some good video artists
1H (d) Definition by art school education	I002	473-476	…naturally others need to judge you as well. It's not possible for someone who hasn't studied, or someone who has studied, but does stupid things let's say, throws paints on a canvas, I don't mean Pollock… who thinks that he paints but no one won't accept..

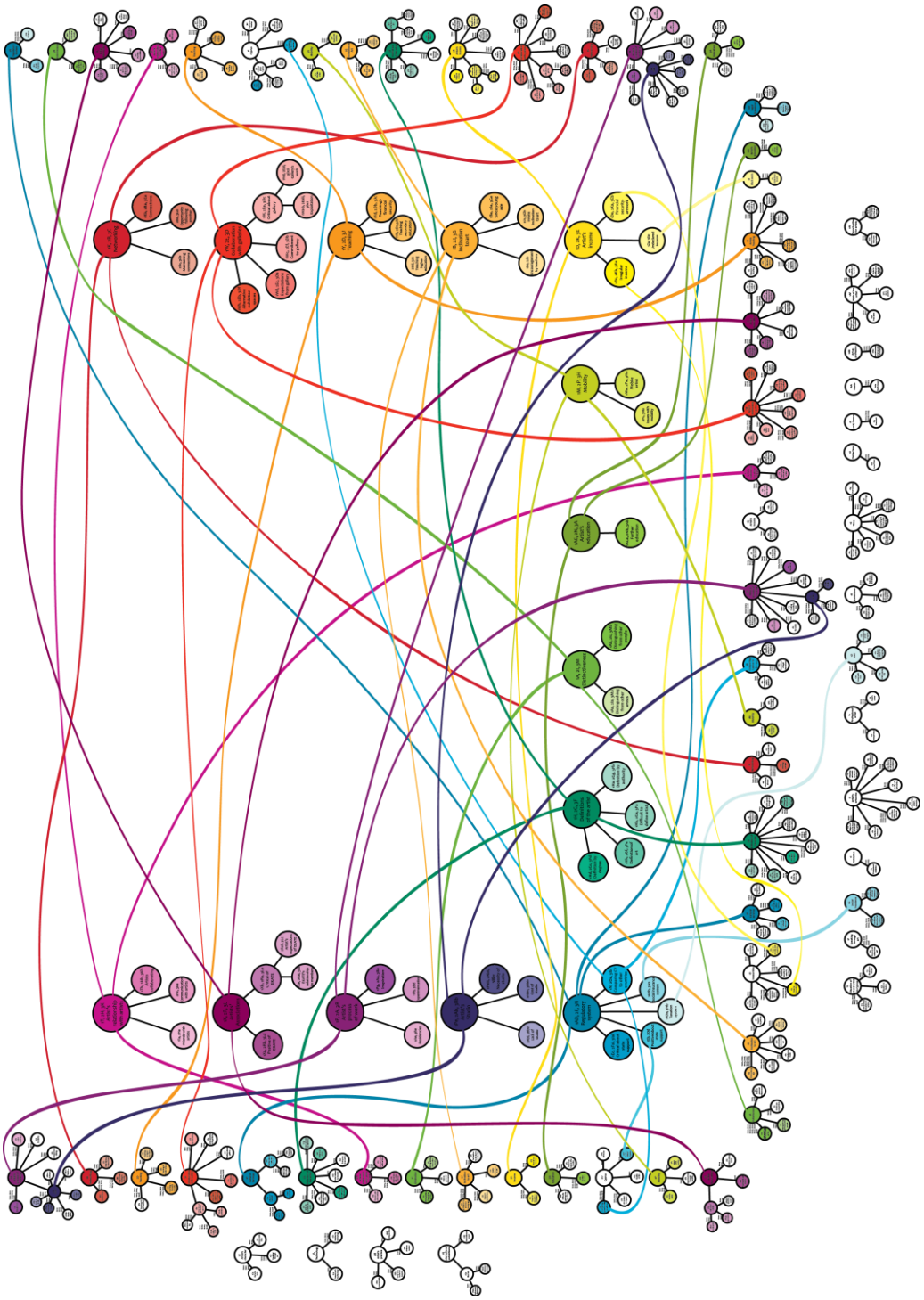
	I005	222-223 226-229	But it doesn't mean that someone else, who is doing something different and does not have the background… Even a, like, [2s] an amateur [3s] a self-taught artist, which means that… I think that the right to create not only justified by the degree. Everyone is entitled, since the age of three, four years old they begin to create, they have the right to create until the end of his life.
2G (c) By art school education	I011	438-442	look, for some people an artist is someone who has the diploma, which I consider to be wrong. For me let's say that's not enough. Having a diploma means nothing, what matters is how you operate on a daily basis, if you do research, if you are active, and we have many examples of people who didn't go to Art School and they are still visual artists.
	I012	418-420	Neither is the person who studied, who has the piece of paper. Even though in Cyprus they ask you what papers you have and then who you are [heheh] what is your name and what do you do. Yes.
	I015	69-71	What I didn't realise until maybe about a year ago was that I needed to give myself permission to make abstract art. And to give myself permission I needed to go to graduate school again.
3F (d) Definition by degree	I021	135-140	[3s] I think it's also a matter of time, that is to say with the degrees, which I don't really believe in degree holders that come, because anyone can study art but not be charismatic. Universities are happy if a good artist comes out every 4 years. Therefore, you can't have Cyprus with this size, where dozens leave for fine art studies every year, to be all good. Therefore, you cannot define them by the degree, that's for sure.
	I026	70-71	"Ok I said, thank you very much, it's not that I have a diploma, I'll take it and shrivel it up" [heheh].
1H (j) Definition by professional status	I005	419-422	Well, look, that is, it depends very much on the work each one produces to be considered, okay, the fact that some artists work diachronically, meaning professionally in a specific field of art, okay, it gives him the title of a professional artist.

	I006	231-235	To talk about the artist whose life is art, it is his job… the person who has art as his job, his life, his profession, is no different, in my opinion always, and should not differ in anything from any other employee, whether he works somewhere, or whether he is self employed, which has an enterprise.
2G (d) By income	I012	417-418	It's not necessarily the professional artist, who lives from his art.
1H (c) What the artist is not	I001	33-34 52-53	These questions are subjects of analysis that a biographer would do but I am not a biographer. I am an artist Art theorists, who are not artists, have given various definitions for these things, but I am not an art theorist, I am an artist.
	I008	310-311 321-322 323	surely it is not a person who does exhibitions and sells at extremely high prices let's say, necessarily It isn't something I see, I copy and that's it. No. That might be a decorator, it could be [2s] someone who imitates something else. An artist isn't someone who happened to study it but never did anything.
1H (g) Definition by membership to artist's association	I003	119-121	Look, there is the Cyprus Chamber of Fine Arts, in Cyprus. Ok? E.KA.TE.. Well, in its statute E.KA.TE. says that one can become a member if they have completed at least three years of studies in the Arts. Fine Arts.
	I005	435-439	This bothered us because we wanted to clarify that it should be artists, but this was not accepted, artists from abroad, but we put citizens from the European Union. They didn't want us to clarify. In the end we put citizens from European countries from similar organized groups, such as E.KA.TE.. Get it? So it is difficult as you for them to accept it in general.
2G (e) Everyone is an artist	I013	370-372	Everyone has become an artist in Cyprus Niki. Someone does a brushstroke, they go to some evening lessons and then says, I'll have an exhibition- e do it at your house my friend! I mean why should the artist who spent so many years of his life suffer;

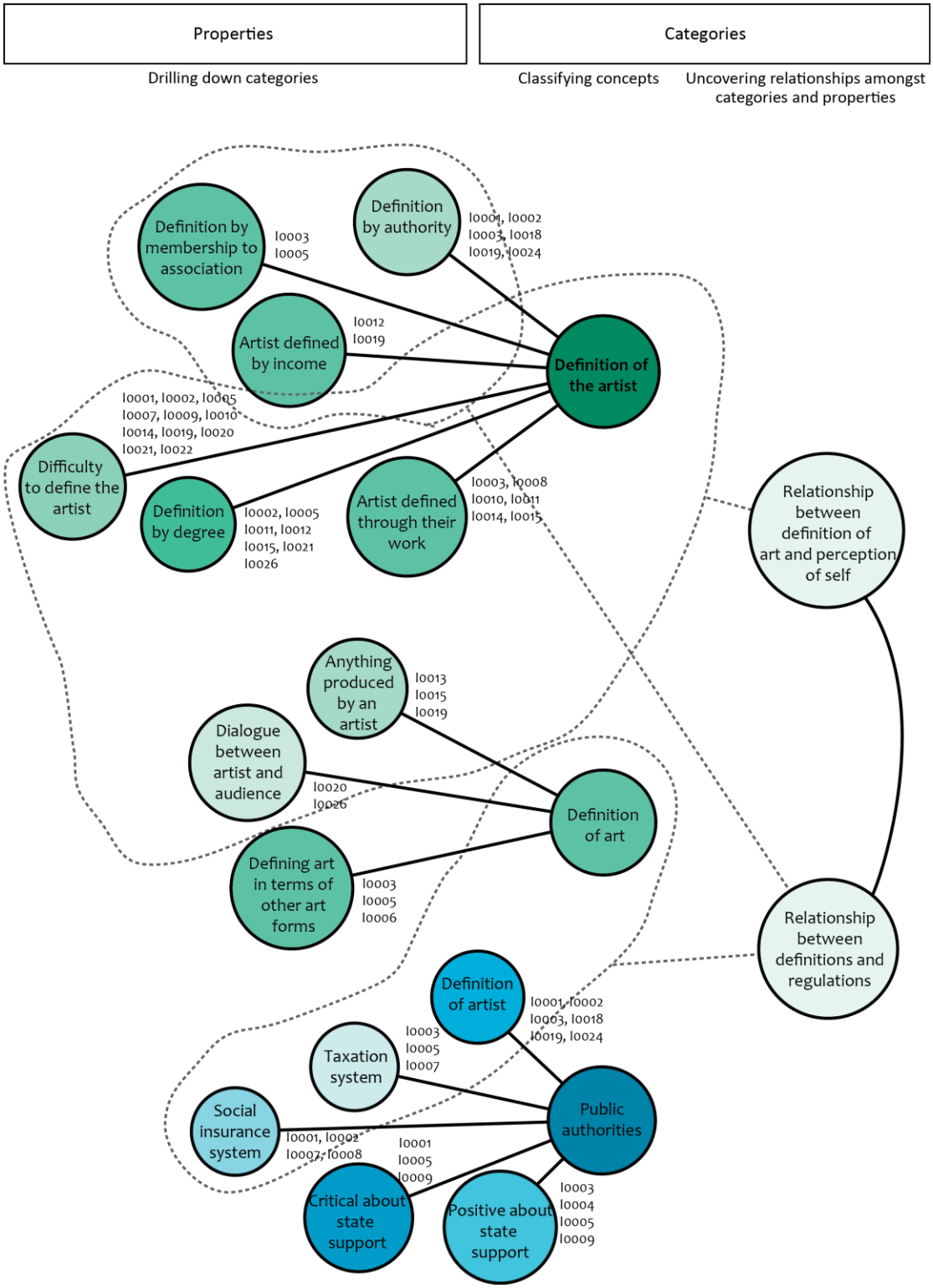
1H (h) Defining art in terms of other art forms	I003	296-301	As well as… when a new film is being produced, a company is created so that the film is produced. So that they know what goes on with the finances. The film-makers gather together for that film and then each goes to wherever they came from, so someone, who is a producer, puts in the money, the company is created for the specific film. For the most part, in Europe especially, every production is a company.
	I005	223-225	let's take the authors, most of them work in some occupation but they might publish valuable books let's say, and then they are considered artists, writers. It is the same way I think with all art forms.
	I006	276-279	there's something inside me that is calling me, that screams for me, a calling, an internal calling, much like an athlete who potential has a calling, his physical status calls him to do some things. And he follow it and we say we have a great athlete. Not everyone can do this of course, just by saying, I want to be an athlete. There is an internal calling.
2G (f) Definition of art	I013	388-389	Art is universal. Ok, there is also the ethnic. I think an artist, there shouldn't be so many constraints.
	I015	315-316	And artwork is wonderful, to teach, because there's no excuse. There's no language barrier, there's nothing
3H (e) i. Definition of art- Anything produced by an artist	I019	301-303 307-308 308-313	I say that whatever I produce as an intellectual being is art. My by-product. And when I think, and when I sketch, and when I draw, and when I produce an object which will leave from my hands and my mind I call it art. Whatever is produced by an artist and is intellectual property, meaning, includes the element of intellectual property, I call it art But when ready-made becomes included, or photography, where you press a button and it happens, when a work of art includes some kind of intellectual energy, when you convey an intellectual energy to an object, independent of the fact the means might be mechanical, but the piece is governed by meaning, then it is a work of art.

Appendix 9: Visualisation of Axial Coding

The diagram below illustrates the way I understand the dynamics between categories and properties. It has been shrunk to fit an A4 page but it is not readable at this size. The second diagram focuses on one of the emerging concepts.

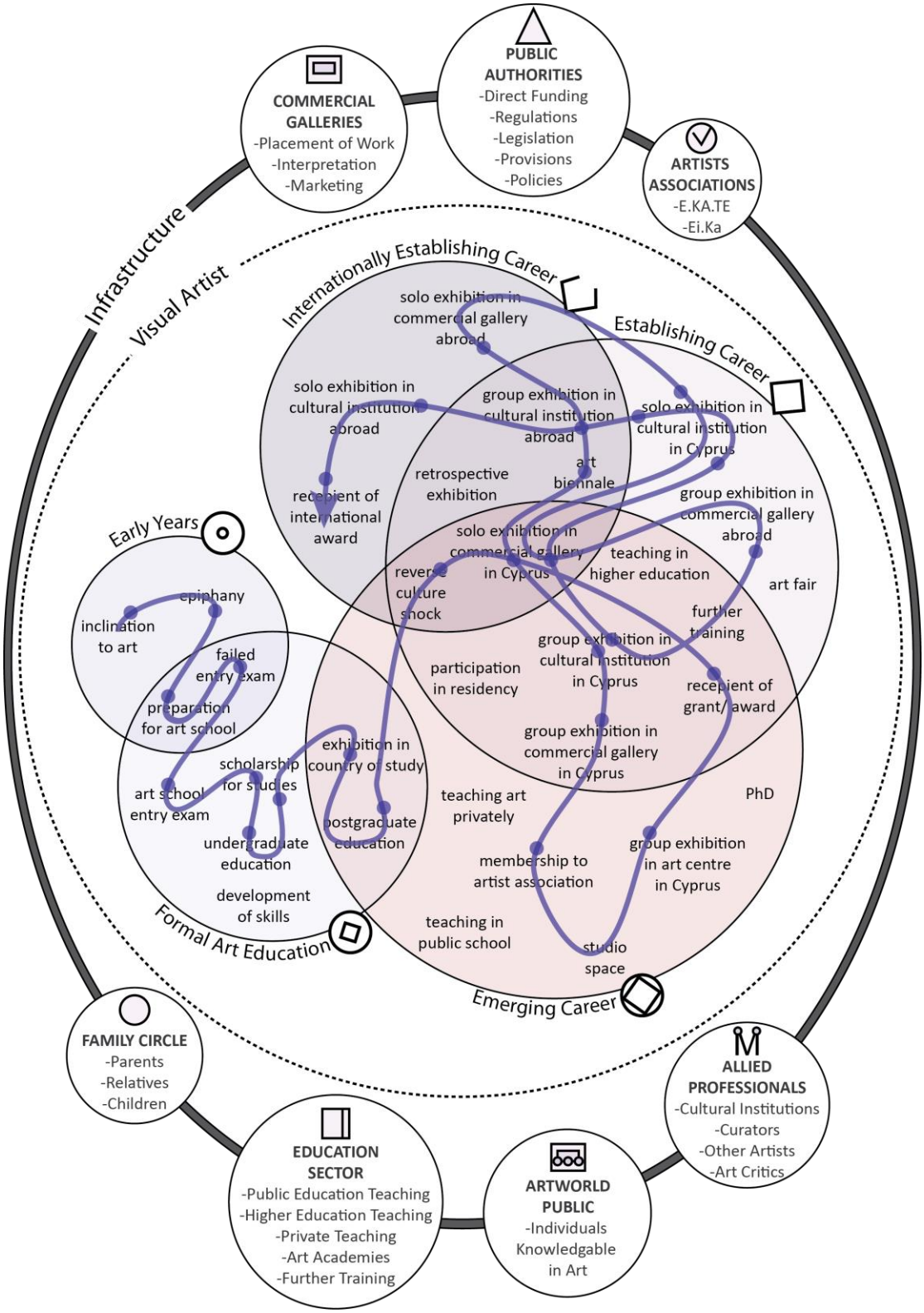


Enlarged illustration of Axial Coding for selected theme

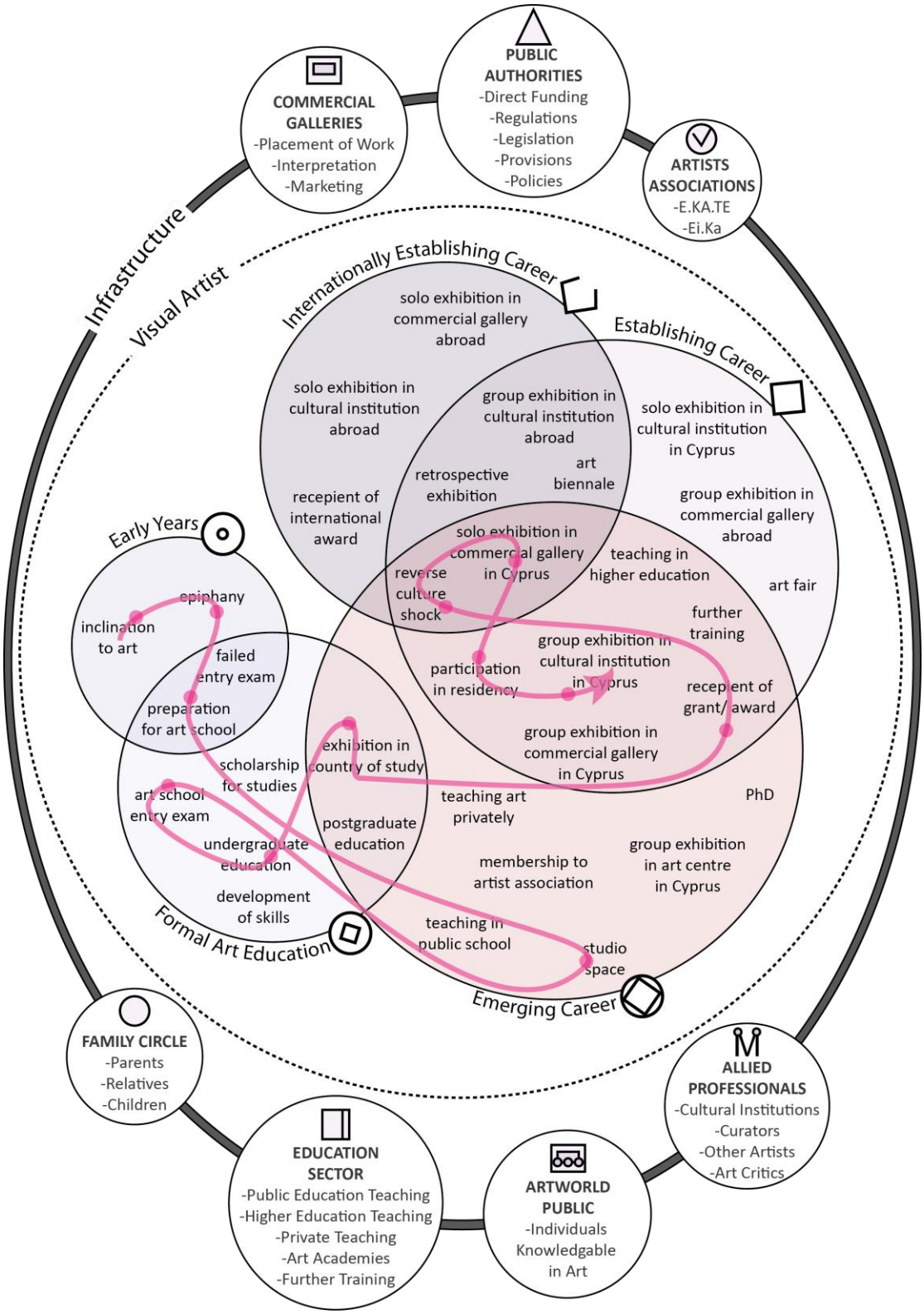


Appendix 10: Individual trajectories for visual artists

Example One
I019/ Male/ b.1956



Example Two
I014/ Female/ b.1989



Example Three
I007/ Male/ b.1958